

RECORDS  
OF  
LOUCESTER  
CATHEDRAL

VOL. II

1883-4

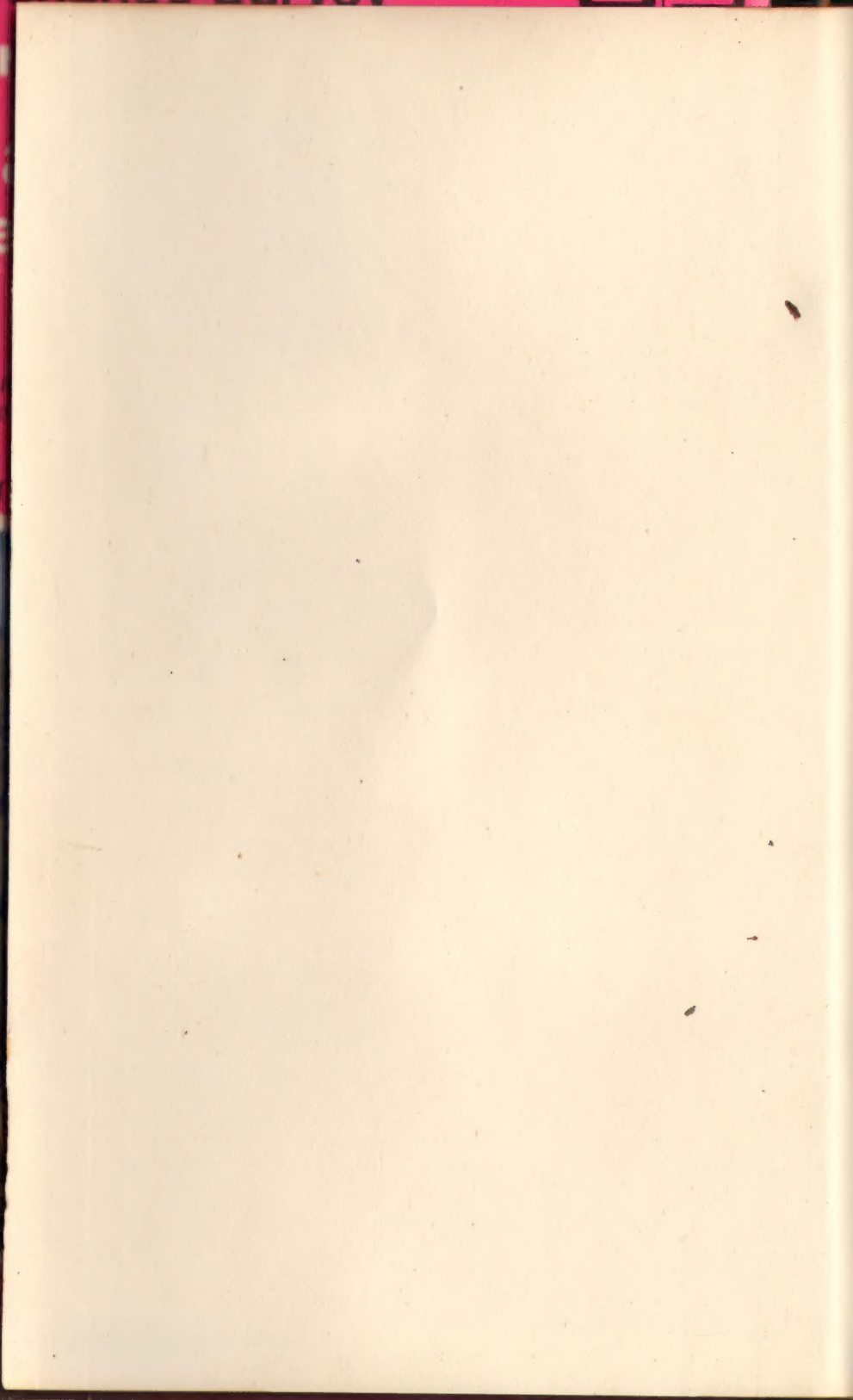








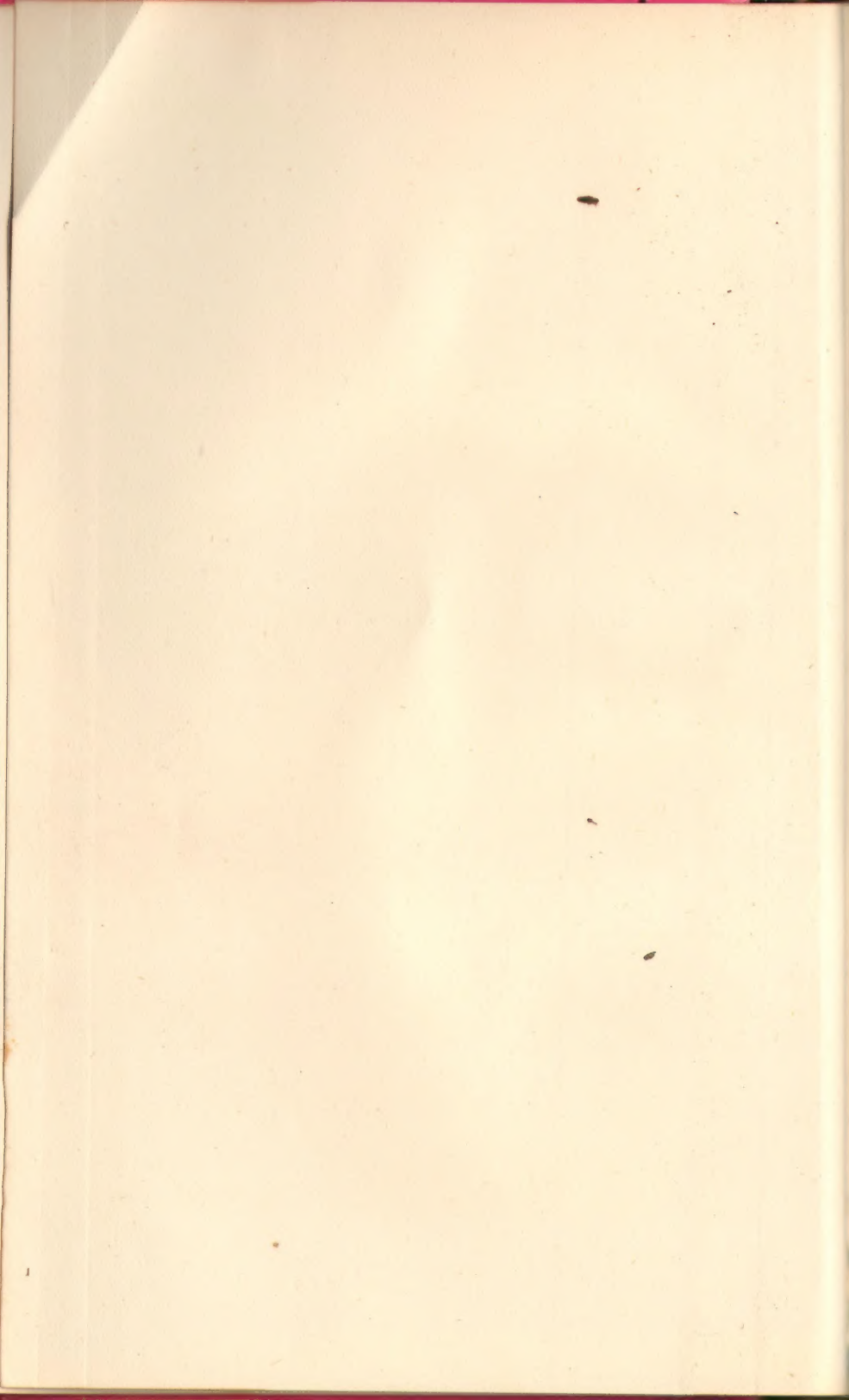




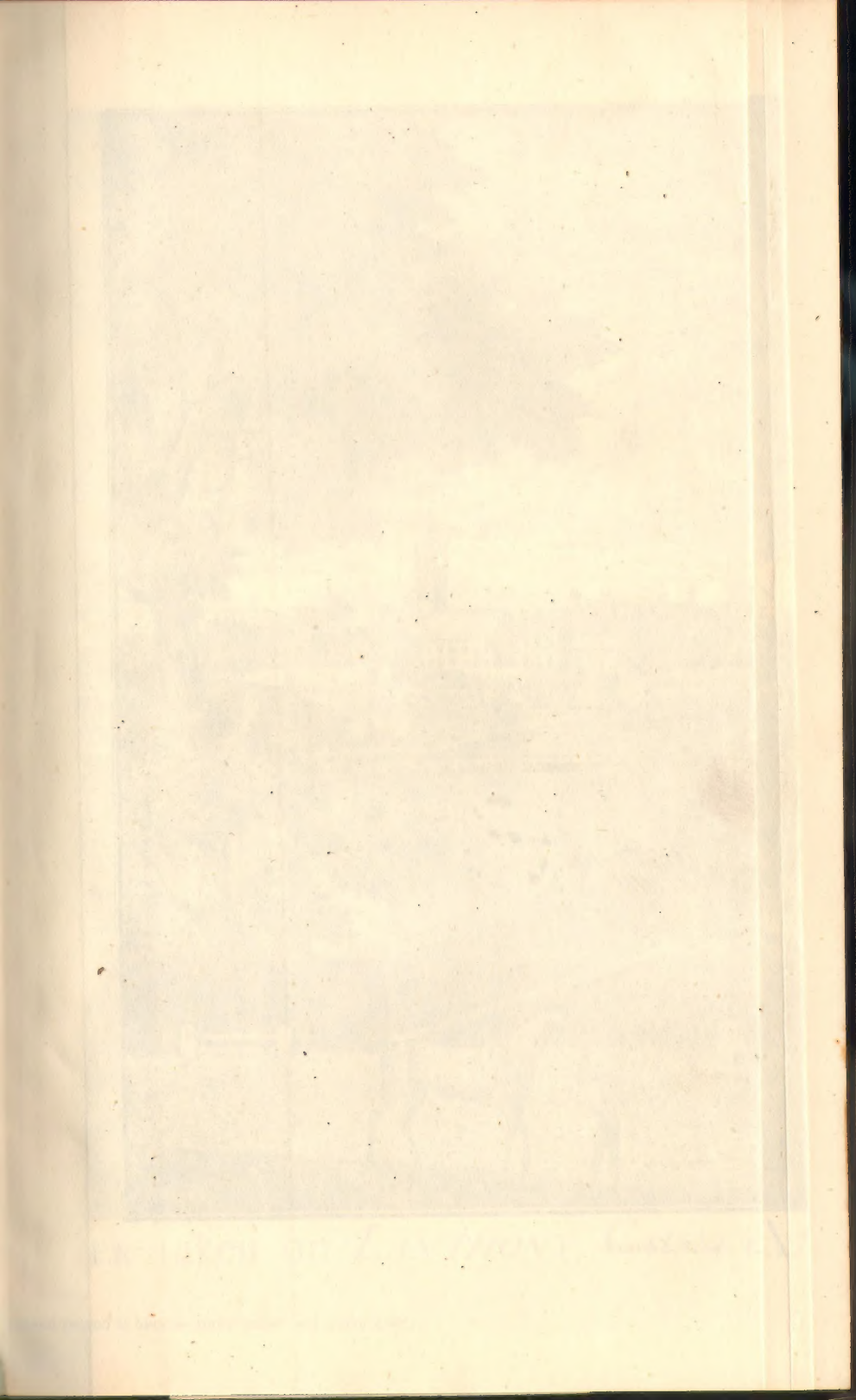




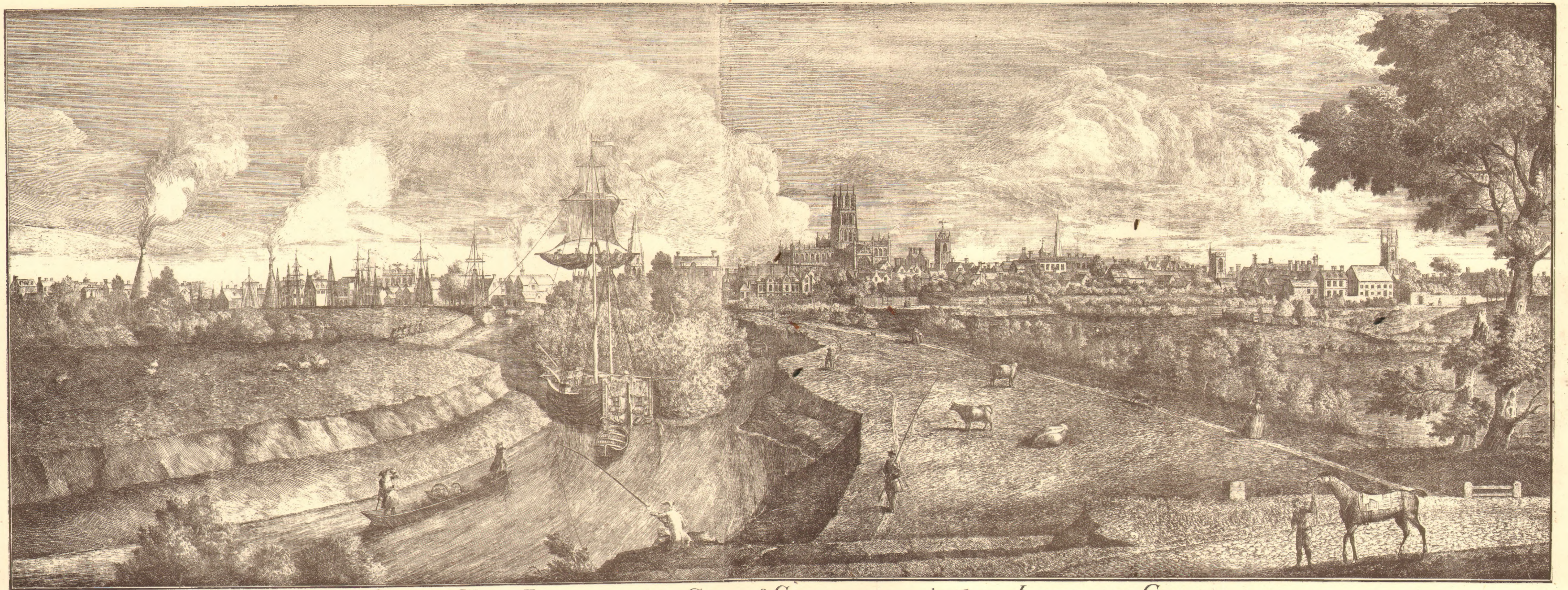












*A SOUTH WEST PROSPECT of the CITY of GLOUCESTER taken on LANTHONY CAUSEY. by J. Lewis.*



# RECORDS

OF

## Gloucester Cathedral

FOR 1883-4.

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*Edited by the REV. WILLIAM BAZELEY, M.A.*

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VOL. II.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

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- Page 17, line 16, for *St. Andrew* read *St. Audoen*.  
„ 19, „ 5, for *The Earl of Montfort* read *Simon de Montfort*.  
„ 79, „ 22, for *Rormance* read *Romance*.  
„ 89, „ 16, for *Geoffey* read *Geoffrey*.  
„ 90, „ 7, for „ read „  
„ 190, „ 9, for *John Frocester* read *Walter Frocester*.
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*The thanks of the Editor are due to Mr. Cecil Tudor Davis for his kind help  
in revising the sheets.*

## Records of Gloucester Cathedral.

1883-4.

THE work of the Gloucester Cathedral Society during the year, ending July 31st, 1884, has included two lectures, by the DEAN OF WELLS and Mr. E. A. FREEMAN; an evening meeting for which papers were prepared by the Rev. S. E. BARTLEET, Mr. GAMBIER PARRY, Mr. F. S. WALLER, and Mr. J. J. POWELL, Q.C.; an excursion to Hereford and Kilpeck; and three visits of working men to the Cathedral, under the guidance of the Rev. J. P. A. BOWERS, Rev. WILLIAM BAZELEY, Mr. F. W. WALLER, and Mr. HUNT.

The lecture which was to have been delivered in February by Mr. J. PARKER, of Oxford, was postponed on account of the death of that gentleman's father, Mr. J. H. Parker, the distinguished explorer of Roman antiquities.

This Society has lost by death within the year its founder, the Rev. CANON LYTTELTON, and Mr. J. D. T. NIBLETT, who had made the architectural and artistic details of the Cathedral the study of a long life. Both these losses are irreparable. It remains to be seen whether this Society, bereft of its leader, will be able to continue the work, for which it was originated, of awakening and promoting amongst all classes an intelligent interest in Gloucester Cathedral, its past history, and what is left of its mediæval splendour.

The first lecture of the Society's second session was given in the Chapter House on Thursday evening, October 18th, 1883, by the Very Rev. E. H. PLUMPTRE, Dean of Wells, the subject being "Cathedral Singers in Times Past and Present."

The LORD BISHOP of the Diocese presided, and in introducing the Dean of Wells said that he was glad to have this opportunity of congratulating the Society on the admirable volume, or first part of the first volume which had appeared of "*The Records of Gloucester Cathedral*." The book did the greatest possible credit to the editor, and to the gentlemen whose lectures



and papers formed part of its contents. Having briefly alluded to the contents of the book, the Bishop introduced the lecturer as a very old friend and as a companion in many a good work. The high literary reputation of Dean Plumptre would, the Bishop said, always command for him a large and attentive audience; but the subject which had been chosen for this evening was one in which the Dean was specially interested, and had made it his own.

The DEAN OF WELLS then proceeded to give a lecture on "Cathedral Singers in Times Past and Present," which will be found in the following pages.

At the conclusion, CANON LYTTLTON said that it fell to his lot, as the only member of the Chapter who happened to be present, to propose a vote of thanks to Dean Plumptre for his very able and interesting paper. The lectures hitherto delivered to the Society had for the most part related to the past; but he trusted that many might be given relating to the present and future. The study of the past ought to afford wisdom whereby to steer our course in the present. The words which Mr. Gladstone had on one occasion quoted from *The Tempest*, "We'll shape our old course in a country new," might be adopted as the motto of the Cathedral Society. Canon Lyttelton concluded by expressing a hope that many of the valuable suggestions of the lecturer might be carried into practice.

Mr. W. P. PRICE seconded the vote of thanks, and testified to the deep interest with which he had listened to the lecture.

The vote was put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

The DEAN OF WELLS in responding referred to his connection with Gloucester Cathedral through his uncle, who was Dean from 1808 to 1825, and who was buried in the Cloisters.

Mr. GAMBIER PARRY then proposed a vote of thanks to the Bishop, for presiding, and bore witness to the marvellous energy which he displayed in the performance of his numerous duties. This was seconded by Mr. DEARMAN BIRCHALL, and responded to by the Bishop, who referred to the time when he was Dean of Exeter, and to the interest which he and the other members of that Chapter had taken in the moral welfare of the choir boys. He concluded by expressing a hope that God's blessing might rest on all efforts such as were being made by this Society, to bring nearer to their high ideal those ancient and venerable institutions, the Cathedrals.

The proceedings terminated with the benediction.

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The second meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, November 29th, under the presidency of A. KNOWLES, Esq., Sheriff of Gloucestershire. The lecture which was delivered on this occasion by Mr. E. A. FREEMAN, on "The Architectural History of Gloucester Cathedral," will be given in the following pages.

The proceedings terminated with votes of thanks to Mr. Freeman and the chairman.

The third meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, January 17th, under the presidency of CANON TINLING, when the following papers—all of which will appear in "*The Records*"—were read:—

"*The Priory of St. Mary, Bromfield, a Dependent Priory of Gloucester Abbey.*" By the Rev. S. E. BARTLEET, M.A., Vicar of Brockworth.

"*Ancient Glass Painting in Gloucester Cathedral.*" By T. GAMBIER PARRY, Esq.

"*Examples of the different styles of Architecture in the Cathedral.*" By F. S. WALLER, Esq. This paper was illustrated by some photographic views which were exhibited by Mr. G. Embrey, by means of the oxy-hydrogen lime-light. In the absence of Mr. F. S. Waller, the paper was read by his son, Mr. F. W. Waller.

"*Election of a Boy Bishop in Gloucester Cathedral.*" By J. J. POWELL, Esq., Q.C. Mr. Powell was unable to be present, and the paper was read by the secretary, the Rev. W. Bazeley.

At the close of the meeting the whole party went into the Cathedral, and occupied seats in the nave, whilst the organist, Mr. C. L. WILLIAMS, assisted by members of the choir, gave a short recital of instrumental and vocal sacred music. The programme was as follows:—

Organ Recital	...	...	"Adagio in B $\flat$ "	...	...	...	Spohr.
			Mr. C. L. Williams.				
Chorale	...	...	"O Saviour of the world"	...			Sir John Goss.
			The Choir.				
Organ Recital	...		"Overture to the Passion Music"	...	...		Haydn.
			Mr. C. L. Williams.				
Chorale	...	...	"O sinner, lift the eye of faith"	...			Mendelssohn.
			The Choir.				
Organ Recital	...	...	"Funeral March"	...	...	...	Chopin.
			Mr. C. L. Williams.				
Chorale	...	...	"O Sacred Head surrounded"	...	...	...	Bach.
			The Choir				



At the close of the recital, which was listened to with deep attention, the party reverently left the sacred building, with a hearty desire that the Dean and Chapter would arrange with Mr. C. L. Williams for frequent public evening recitals during the summer.

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There were three visits of working men to the Cathedral, under the direction of the Society.

On Saturday, October 27th, about 130 persons who had received invitations through the parochial clergy of the city, assembled in the nave at the conclusion of the afternoon service, and were shown many of the interesting features of the building by the Rev. W. BAZELEY and Messrs. HUNT and BYARD. The whole party then proceeded to the Chapter Room, where they were received by the Bishop. After they had sung the hymn "The Church's one foundation," his Lordship expressed the pleasure and happiness it afforded him to witness and to welcome that goodly gathering. No doubt they had all often seen the Cathedral before, but they would perhaps in future be able to view it with clearer eyes, after the explanations and historical hints that had been given to them by the kind friends who had conducted them round the noble old building. This, he hoped, would make them still prouder of their beautiful Cathedral. Canon Lyttelton had formed a Society, and had invited gentlemen to come here to tell them what they knew of the Cathedral, and of events in the history of the country which were bound up with it; and the promoters of that Society, wishing to share their pleasure with the working men, had invited those present to attend that afternoon, and he hoped they had enjoyed their visit. Any ordinary person who visited the Cathedral would first be struck with its beauty as a whole; and next with the marvellous manner in which comparatively modern work had been united to that which was more ancient, as in the Choir. This combination of new and old formed the most striking feature of Gloucester Cathedral. His Lordship pointed out how in the Chapter House in which they were assembled, similar architectural changes presented themselves to notice, the arcades and walls dating back to William Rufus, and perhaps even to the Conqueror, while the eastern end, from which he was speaking, was nearly four hundred and fifty years later. William the Conqueror had often visited Gloucester, and Parliaments had been held here by his successors. Thus the Norman barons and the representatives of the people must have trodden the same pavements over which those he was addressing had walked that afternoon. It might be asked, why should so large a sum of money have been spent in providing a church for the worship of a comparatively small body of men and a certain number of visitors? Why could they not have been satisfied with something

a good deal less costly? The reply was that there existed in the hearts of good men of old a desire to do the highest honour to Almighty God by the works of their hands, and by all they could procure with their means, that the thoughts of those who assembled within that grand and majestic building might be carried up to the heavenly Jerusalem, to that fair city where no Cathedral was needed, because the Lamb of God was there for ever. The great Cathedrals were erected by those who were animated by a love of God, and we ought to try and share in some degree in their feelings.

Mr. CLICK, (from Messrs. Price and Co.s') in a brief but earnest speech expressed the thanks of those assembled to the Bishop for having attended, and for his address of welcome; and the BISHOP replied, again expressing the gratification it had afforded him to be present.

The Rev. J. G. TETLEY then gave the following address:—

Brother working men,—I reckon it to be no slight privilege that I have been invited to address you in this Chapter Room to-day. Your meeting here is one among many signs that may cheer amidst the grave and advancing anxieties of the times. I regard it as a presage of good things to come; and so regarding it, there must be a corresponding feeling of satisfaction in those who take part in such proceedings as these. Our Cathedrals are indeed churches of the people. They are "Gospel Palaces" where every one should feel to have a place and a welcome. That they have *not* been so in days now passing away, none can deny. That there is an opening prospect of a widely different character, let us thank God. A living portion of our Lord's mystical body, so far as it is true to its Divine origin, cannot be a class Church. Within the gates of her temples, all are equal. She has kings to be her nursing fathers, and queens to be her nursing mothers, and she taketh up the simple out of the dust, to set him among the princes of her Master's people. These are among the rudiments of Church truth—the elements of Church life. Yet there have been days, and that within our own knowledge, when they were unhappily obscured. Too much of the world crept into the sanctuary of God. There were times of pews and privileges. All this is now receding from our view, simply because the Church of God in this land is becoming more true to herself, therefore her holy places are regaining their real position as the heritage of her children at large. The naves of our Cathedrals are thronged by congregations to whom the seats are free, whose choice is unrestricted. The ears of the many are filled with the majestic organ tones, and the blended voices of the Choir. Men are entering into the blessed inheritance of a common worship, hallowed by the use of centuries. In a word we are getting back to old Church lines, and therefore to Bible truths. And you are here to-day because you are beginning to know that you have a part and lot in this matter. You have visited this "holy and

beautiful house" in a spirit of reverent enquiry. You desire to search and to know, and not merely to glance round vaguely, and to go away untaught. In God's Name, then, I bid you welcome, English working men, to this fair sanctuary of the English Church, the fabric where your forefathers have worshipped for many ages, and where you and your children shall find more and more new and wonderful delight. "This shall be written for those that come after, and the people which shall be born shall praise the Lord."

Let me remind you of the musical words spoken by that famous poet of our own, whose sense of the beauty of holiness not all his deep-set Puritanism could extinguish.

"But let my due feet never fail  
To tread the studious cloister pale,  
And love the high embowered roof  
With antique pillars massy proof;  
And storied windows, richly dight,  
Casting a dim religious light.

Then let the pealing organ blow  
To the full-voiced choir below,  
In service high and anthems clear,  
Which may in sweetness through mine ear  
Dissolve my soul in harmonies,  
And bring all heaven before mine eyes.

My appointed share in this happy task is to speak to you concerning the choir. That portion of the building has been selected for this first occasion of our thus meeting together, and this for the best of reasons. It is the place wherein the Divine service is day by day carried on. In it is placed the Holy Table of our Lord, where is celebrated the highest, the central act of Christian worship.

It will be well at this point to say a few words as to the form and arrangement of Churches as they were in primitive times. Their main features were the same as those of the Temple at Jerusalem. Thus the nave of the Christian Church would answer to the court of the Jews. It was the space assigned to the worshippers. The Holy Place was represented by the choir or chancel, which was occupied by those ministerially engaged in the services. Lastly, to the Holy of Holies would correspond the Bema, or Altar Place, the site of the Holy Table. Now, just as all religious truth converges in the One "full, perfect, and sufficient Sacrifice" offered up once on Calvary, so the structural dispositions of our Churches lead up to that spot where as oft as men eat of the Lord's Bread, and drink of the Lord's Cup, we show His precious death "till He come." The rising steps terminate



in the precincts of God's Board, where is the continual remembrance of the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ. In this Cathedral you will have noticed that the central subject of the Reredos, or carved work at the back of the Altar, is the Ascension of our Lord and Saviour into Heaven. Most fitly indeed is it so ordered. For He who bare our sins in His own body on the tree is now gone up on high, having led captivity captive, to plead and present before His Father and our Father, the all-availing merits of His Cross and Passion. In the Holy Communion we also plead that same most precious Death; we unite our intercessions with the intercessions of our ascended High Priest, "with angels and archangels, and all the company of Heaven, we laud and magnify the glorious Name." In a supreme act of worship Heaven and earth are at one.

That Reredos, as you will also have seen, is crowned by the sacred symbol of the Cross. Our Lord was made perfect by suffering. "He went not up to joy, but first He suffered pain; He entered not into His glory before He was crucified." Thus the spiritual teaching of all around us is gathered up in the fair work of the stone carvers, to the east of the Altar. And the great Gospel verities are displayed to our view; how that "He was delivered for our offences, and raised again for our justification."

Coming down from the Altar steps, we notice that on either side the Choir are the stalls of the singers. The arrangement is in strict accordance with the will of God, as revealed in ancient days. Nothing is by hazard; all has its spiritual significance. Things were of old disposed "according to the commandments of the Lord by His prophets." Here then are sung antiphonally, as in the Temple worship, the psalms that echoed round the courts of the Lord's house on the hill of Zion. The alternate verses of the Decani, or the Dean's side, and the Cantoris, or that of the chanter, reply the one to the other. And so it is in the heavenly places; "I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and His train filled the temple. Above it stood the seraphims, each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly, and *one cried unto another, and said Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of His glory.*"

Once more, it is a day of rebuke and blasphemy: a time of heresy and suffering for the truth's sake. It is the year of our Lord 349, and the scene is laid at Antioch. There rise before our sight two figures of men, each of them as one in a thousand. Their names are Flavian and Didore; as yet they are lay members of the Church, and their hearts burn within them as they hear on every side how the great foundation truth of the Gospel is assailed, and that men dare to call in question the central fact of all history, that "the Word was made Flesh, and tabernacled among us," and these men form a company of singers. They select for a place of meeting the tombs of

those who loved not their lives to the death, "the noble army of martyrs." They choose for the time of meeting the solemn midnight hour. And the stillness of the darkness is broken by the solemn antiphonal chant of the double choir. Their songs of praise go up to Christ the Lord, alike a sign and a support of the faith, once for all delivered to the saints.

This glorious Choir: what is its history? It was not always, even in its actual outlines, as you saw it to-day. In 1100, when the great edifice of the Norman builders was consecrated, the eastern end of the Choir was closed by an apse, and all was covered in by a flat ceiling of wood, panelled and painted. But some 230 years after the consecration "a master-genius of architecture, whose name is among the great unknown, fired by the success and beauty of that work of Abbot Wygmore, and impelled by an enthusiasm approaching recklessness, broke through the eastern apse, changing its gloom into a flood of light by that marvellous window, 72 feet by 38 feet; and paring down the venerable walls, covered them with a film of tracery, and then threw up a vault of net-work of stone, so playful, so light, as seemed to need nothing but the air to carry it."

I am indebted for these so beautiful words to our neighbour and friend Mr. Gambier Parry, of Highnam Court, a working man indeed, who has devoted his commanding abilities to the adornment of this Cathedral; who during the bitter winter of 1878 spent long hours of labour at the roof of Tewkesbury Abbey, giving it a renewed beauty which will endure, we may trust, along with many generations of the world's history; who never received a farthing for his prolonged labours; who, lastly, as the founder of the Children's Hospital has brought relief and blessing into unnumbered homes of the poor.

And when was this transforming of our Choir carried into effect? It was a space of forty years, from 1337 to 1377. Let us glance for a moment at the England of that day. On the throne sat the third Edward, son of that murdered monarch whose sepulchre is with us to this day in this very Choir. It was a time of wars and rumours of wars, of famines and of pestilences in divers places. The ruler of this island was devoured by a consuming ambition to possess the throne of France as well as that of England. The great victories of Creci and Poitiers are found in the annals of these forty years. They were won at a fearful cost. At home there was a long succession of wet seasons, and of bad harvests. The miseries under which the famished nation groaned were intensified by dark intrigues, and the craft of evil men. A cloudy and a dark day! We turn to what was passing on this spot, as to a bright sky on the edge of the storm. Here the unknown architect was calmly pursuing his labour of love,—fit emblem of the faithful Church in the midst of the furious raging of men.

Out of those days of stormy wind and tempest there emerge two events

of deep significance in our national history. The first was on this wise. The encroachments of the Roman see had long been advancing; the demands of the Popes were insatiable. Amongst their claims at this time was one for an increase in "Peter's pence;" another was concerned with the first-fruits of each Diocese at an Episcopal Consecration. But this was far from being the limit of the Papal demands. By means of "provisions" there was now a persistent endeavour to appoint not only the English Bishops, but also to a large extent the parochial clergy. The result was already most disastrous, and abuses cried to Heaven for redress. The benefices of the national Church were filled by Italian occupants, wholly alien to the English people. The greatness of the evil indeed brought its own remedy. During these same forty years the crisis came. The temporal power of the Popes was firmly met, and successfully resisted. A blow was struck at the foreign domination—the precursor of a more determined struggle by-and-by.

And the second event of far-reaching importance was the protest entered by Wycliffe. This is not the place to give at length the story of that strange and austere life, or to examine the doctrines which this remarkable man taught. Sufficient to say that he entered a protest which might make both the ears of them that heard it to tingle against the heaped-up abuses of his day. And while most certainly all the teaching of Wycliffe is not to be accepted, it must not be left out of sight that, amidst many errors and absurdities, the course he pursued was the forecast of that Reformation which 200 years further on freed the ancient and historic Church of England from the innovation of the Papacy, and restored her in her authorized formularies, and in aim and theory, at least, to her primitive purity of doctrine.

Such then were the leading events of English Church history, whilst our unknown architect was engaged in the Cathedral of Gloucester. It is time now that I entered on my concluding remarks.

Our "unknown benefactors!" How many there are; and how wealth-giving their lives and their works, which still await the day when all things shall be known. And you, my brothers, each time that you pass within these walls; as you pace the tiled floor, and gaze in reverential delight on the exquisite work of that gifted designer, say this within yourselves, "Would God that I too, in my day, may so live and so work as to leave the world, at the time of my departing, in something the better for what He has wrought by me!" You may never indeed conceive such wonderful thoughts as filled the mind of this man. There may be no chiselled stone, no wrought metal, no carved wood on which the eyes of future generations shall rest, and the hearts of men marvel as to who he was that did so marvellously. Not such as this, perhaps; yet for all that you too may be benefactors, by lives of sweet purity, of leavening soberness, of winning charity; these shall pass on to those who are yet unborn, the blessed influences of an ennobling example.



"Lives of great men all remind us  
 We may make our lives sublime,  
 And departing leave behind us  
 Footprints on the sands of time.

Footprints that perhaps another,  
 Sailing o'er life's weary main,  
 A forlorn and shipwrecked brother  
 Seeing may take heart again."

And let me add one last lesson in particular, from this man's memorable work. How could he have executed this marvel of beauty, save on the massive support which the work of the older builders supplied? The support was there; and then came the glorious work of the carver, the glazier, and the painter. Even so in men's lives. He who looks only to the attractive has only a short and insecure lease. More ornament and nothing more is sure to reach a speedy end. But lives set deep in humility, builded up in sturdy faith, and active charity,—the man who masters his trade, who consistently discharges his duty, who starts with facts and truths laboriously acquired, such may afford to brighten his life with many a recreation; and manifold lighter pursuits may store his mind and enrich his surroundings with things of beauty and refreshment, a happiness to himself and to those among whom he dwells.

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The remainder of this address was devoted to the historical continuity of the English Church, and an appeal to working men to make themselves acquainted with the plain facts of National Church history.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the Rev. J. G. TETLEY for his eloquent address.

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On Saturday, November 24th, a second party of working men visited the Cathedral, and were conducted through the Choir, Transepts, and Lady Chapel by Mr. JOHN HUNT, whose description of the building was listened to with the deepest interest. The party then passed into the Chapter House, where they were courteously received by the Rev. RICHARD HARVEY, canon in residence, and an address on the Chapter House, of which the following is a *résumé*, was given by the Rev. W. BAZELEY:—

A chapter is a society of monks or clergy belonging to a monastery, a cathedral, or collegiate church. This room is called the Chapter House because for many centuries before 1540 the monks of St. Peter's Abbey, and after that time the cathedral clergy, met here for the administration of the laws by which they were governed, and for the conduct of every kind of

important business. I have not time this afternoon to give you an idea of a chapter meeting as it was in olden times; I want, if I can, to show you how this room has been connected with stirring events in English history, that you may feel prouder of your noble Cathedral. But first let me say a few words about the site on which this Chapter House stands, and about the structure itself. You have all heard that Gloucester was a Roman city for 350 years, and have seen portions of the Roman wall that once surrounded it. This building stood as nearly as possible on the north-west angle of the Roman fortifications.

The first Abbey of St. Peter, which was founded in 681, did not stand on the same site as the present Cathedral. It seems that during the time of Edward the Confessor—say about 1050—the Roman wall on the north-west was taken down, and new fortifications were erected further from the centre of the city and nearer the course of the Severn. Aldred, who was then Bishop of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, seized the opportunity to rebuild the old Minster on the vacant space. This Chapter House was Bishop Aldred's work, probably the last of it, and was finished not long before the defeat of Harold at Hastings. The architecture of all but the eastern end is Norman. You cannot mistake the round-headed arches in the arcades on either side, and the zig-zag mouldings. This is the style of building which was brought here by the Normans, and which became general all over England. Edward the Confessor, the last Saxon king but one, was fond of the Normans, and liked everything that was Norman. He sent for Norman builders, and erected the minster that we call Westminster; and Aldred, to please him, built an abbey in the Norman style at Gloucester. But it is plain that we have in this Chapter House Norman work of two different dates. That beautiful doorway with its rich mouldings on the Cloister side, the window beside it looking into the Great Cloister, and the roof above us, with its pointed groining, are of later date than the walls. If you look up over the doorway, you will see distinct marks of fire. We cannot suppose that the Mercians who lived in Gloucestershire submitted to the Conqueror without a struggle, and it may be that Aldred's minster was partly burnt in 1068, when the sons of King Harold gained a partial victory over the Norman invaders near Bristol. Some calamity befell it, for Wulstan, the Abbot of Gloucester, forsook his post, and went broken-hearted to Jerusalem, where he died; and Serlo, the first Norman Abbot of Gloucester, when he came found only two monks and eight boys, and was compelled to restore Aldred's church within five and twenty years of its completion.

Norman masonry may as easily be identified by the dressing of the stones and by the mortar used as by the round arch and the zigzag moulding. The stones were dressed by being hacked with an axe, and the mortar was yellow in colour, badly mixed, and contained very little lime. Early Norman

work always looks rough, and the joints of the ashlar work are very wide, sometimes to the extent of an inch. It was not until fifty years after the Norman Conquest that the builders began to see the beauty of fine-jointed masonry, and later still that tools were invented to dress the stones smoothly. The profusion of masons' marks is another peculiarity of Norman stone-work. Perhaps some of you are freemasons, and can tell us what these marks mean. I can only suggest that each stone-dresser took a pride in putting his own mark on the stones he dressed.

The architectural style of the eastern end or apse of this Chapter House is very different from the rest of the building, though you will notice that all the lower courses of masonry are Norman. There is a great gap between the two styles—some 350 or 400 years. The later work is Perpendicular, and the arch of the window is Tudor, or four-centred. The name of Perpendicular is given it because the mullions, instead of branching off in a number of curved lines, as they do in the Decorated style, are carried up vertically so as to form perpendicular divisions between the window-sill and the head. This Perpendicular work was probably done by Abbot Farley, between 1472 and 1479. I suspect he intended to alter the whole of the Chapter House into this style, but that something fortunately prevented him, just as Abbot Morwent was stopped from altering the whole of the nave of the Cathedral into Perpendicular some fifty years earlier. Morwent died, and the work was arrested.

But let me take you back again to Norman times. You see those inscriptions in Lombardic characters on the wall, four on each side. They commemorate distinguished Normans who were buried here in the 11th and 12th centuries. When the floor was levelled a few years ago, their coffins were found lying beneath, and the lid of one, inscribed with the words "De Cadurcis," is preserved in the Crypt of the Cathedral. Time will not permit me to speak of these knights; I will only refer to Walter de Lacy, who was buried here in 1085, four years before Serlo began to re-build his abbey church. This burial is an indication that the present Chapter House was standing at that time. And there is another reason for thinking so. It has always been said that William the Conqueror took counsel with his wise men in the Gloucester Chapter House in that same year, and I should be sorry to be deprived of the thought that these very walls have re-echoed to the voice and footsteps of that stern sovereign.

It was a sad time for our forefathers the English. All but a few were dispossessed of their land in favour of the Conqueror's Norman knights, and all the bishoprics, as they became vacant, were given to Norman ecclesiastics; the Norman language was ordered to be spoken in the courts of law; and the English, ground down by the oppression and lust of their conquerors,



had no opportunity of pleading their cause in their own tongue. Every attempt to throw off the Norman yoke—and a very determined one was made by the English inhabitants of this part in 1068—was sternly put down, and by 1085 the English had come to the conclusion that resistance was vain. So in that year King William held his court at Gloucester at Christmas, and there were with him his sons “Robert the Short” and “William the Red.” Fifty years later Duke Robert’s body was brought here from Cardiff and buried. You will see his name on the walls of the Chapter House: “*Hic jacet Robertus Curtus*”—“here lies Robert the short of stature.” You have seen his encaged effigy in Boteler’s Chapel. I hope, one of these days, you will see it without a cage, restored to its proper place in the centre of the Choir.

Fifteen years after the great meeting in the Chapter House, William the Red had his death-warning from Gloucester, and perished by the bow of Walter Tyrrell in the new forest. But besides the two royal princes, the two Archbishops were also at Gloucester—Lanfranc, the first Norman who ruled the Province of Canterbury, and Thomas, who had been appointed to York when Aldred, who built this Chapter House, had died of a broken heart because King William in his wrath had made the fair province of Northumbria a howling wilderness. Besides this, many a bishop, many a Norman baron, and hundreds of foreign soldiers, were quartered on the inhabitants of Gloucester, eating up the land like a swarm of locusts. For five days William consulted with his great nobles and prelates; for three days the clergy held a synod with their Archbishop. Then the King called together his Witan, and as the Saxon Chronicle says, had deep speech with them concerning the land, how it was leased out. In those days every man who held land held it under the King. “Then William sent his men over England, into every shire, and directed them to ascertain how many hundred hides were in each shire, how much the King held in his own hands, and what dues should be paid to him from the rest. Then did he make an investigation so searching that not one single hide, nor one yard of land, nay, moreover—it is a disgrace,” says the Chronicle, “to recount it, but he considered it no disgrace to do it—neither an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine, was there left that was not written down in the record, and all these writings were brought to him afterwards.” Nearly eight hundred years have elapsed since William sat in this Chapter House enthroned in splendour among his nobles; but that survey, which was ordained in Gloucester in this room, and which is known as the Domesday Survey, still remains; and it is almost marvellous how little the wear and tear of eight hundred years have caused the handwriting of the original document to fade. Among the writings belonging to the Dean and Chapter is the copy of a deed that was executed in this room during the famous visit of the Conqueror in 1085; it is inter-

esting as an example of many such that remain, but it is specially interesting as being connected with the old inscription on the wall of this building, "Hic jacet Gualterus de Lacy." Early in 1085 Walter de Lacy was watching his men building the Church of St. Peter at Hereford, when he slipped from a scaffold and was killed; his body was brought to Gloucester and buried in the Chapter House of St. Peter's Abbey. His widow Ermenilda, in the presence of the Court, executed a deed by which she gave five hides of land in Duntisbourne to the Abbey, as she said, "for the redemption of her husband's soul," and King William, the Princes, the Archbishops, three Bishops, and two of the nobles, witnessed the deed. They did not put their signatures, for none of them it seems could write; but they made a cross, and the scribe added their names.

These meetings, or Witanagemots, only began to be worthy of the name of Parliaments in the reign of Henry the Third, who was crowned in the Abbey of Gloucester with great solemnity and grandeur in 1216.

The liberties of the people were at their lowest ebb at the end of the 11th century; but from that time matters began to mend. The wars between William Rufus and Robert Duke of Normandy, and again between Henry the First and Robert, led the Kings to purchase the favour and support of the English by granting them liberties. When the Kings were strong the people were weak; but when John and his son Henry the Third sat uneasily on the throne of England, the cause of liberty went on and prospered. The clergy were always on the side of the people, because for the most part they were Englishmen themselves, and their hearts bled for the wrongs of their countrymen. Strange to say, the foreign bishops whom William and his Norman descendants brought over from Normandy to assist them in their oppressions were no sooner established in their sees than they used all their influence in favour of the people; and all the great charters of liberties—the Magna Charta and all that followed it—were granted at the urgent request of bishops as well as nobles. But we must pass on to the two last Parliaments held in Gloucester, those of 1378 and 1407. The following is an account of the earlier one, as given in the old Latin history of St. Peter's Abbey: "In the year 1378 the Parliament opened on October 22nd, and sat till November 16th, during which time the King stayed sometimes at Tewkesbury and sometimes at Gloucester. When at Gloucester the King and his whole Court were entertained here at the Abbey, which was so crowded with guests that the monks were compelled to cook their food in the orchard, and eat it in their dormitory or school-house. The King took counsel with his Lords in the Guest Chamber, and the Commons sat in the Chapter House. The Abbey was so overrun with strangers that it seemed more like a fair than a religious establishment. As for the grass in the middle of the Great Cloisters, it was



so trodden down by the visitors, who played at all kinds of games there, that not a vestige of green could be distinguished. On the Sunday before the close of the session a grand Mass was performed by the Abbot in the presence of the King, the two Archbishops, twelve Bishops, the Duke of Lancaster, the Earls of Cambridge and Hereford, many others of the nobility, and an innumerable crowd of the common people of both sexes and every age. After Mass the King was conducted to a magnificent repast, which was set out with great splendour. On the 16th of November, everything having been happily arranged according to custom, and without any unusual dissension, God overruling all for the good of the kingdom, everyone went his own way rejoicing. Before Parliament opened it was feared that the privileges of the Church were in danger through the violence of a certain nobleman (John of GAUNT, Duke of Lancaster,) but all turned out well; and everyone rejoiced because there was no oppressive tax laid on the poor, nor on the tithes due to the clergy, but only on the merchants, who were rich enough to bear the burden of the King's wars." So much for the monks' opinion. What really happened was that the Commons insisted on the King giving an account of his expenditure of the public money, and refused to grant a penny more than they thought necessary for the conduct of his wars, so marvellously had the liberties of the people grown since the times we have previously spoken of. In 1407 Parliament sat in Gloucester from October 20th to December 2nd. A terrible plague was desolating England in that year, but Gloucester escaped. Archbishop Arundel preached the opening sermon on the text "Honour the King." The Commons again sat in this Chapter House, and Thomas Chaucer was the speaker. The King, in council with the Lords, asked them to say what taxes were necessary, and then summoned the Commons to hear the reply. The Lower House at once stood on their privileges, and claimed the right to fix the amount of taxation, and this claim was allowed. This was another victory for the people, and as late as the year 1860 there was a Report on Privileges which, after a lapse of four centuries and a half, appealed to the Parliament held at Gloucester in 1407 as the chief authority for passing bills of supplies.

But I must hasten to draw to a close. "The clergy, as I have said, were always on the popular side; but as time went on, this was not the case with the monks. When the King was struggling against the tyranny of the Pope of Rome, and reforming the terrible errors which the influence of Rome had introduced into our Church, the monks sided with their country's foe. Hence the destruction of monasticism. Henry the Eighth, with all his sins, and they were not a few, was an able statesman and a patriot. He determined to crush the power of Rome in England, and when he found he had enemies in the camp he brought about their destruction. To bring the people to his views he caused all kinds of horrible accusations to be trumped up

against the monasteries, which he may or may not have believed—that he cared little about—and to retain the nobles on his side he promised and gave them a plentiful share of the plunder. Thus armed, he swooped down on the rich abbeys and priories, and turned the most beautiful specimens of mediæval art into picturesque ruins. On the 10th of August, 1534, William Parker, the last Abbot of Gloucester, and all his monks, signed the oath of the King's supremacy in this Chapter House, in the presence of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. They declared on oath that the King was supreme head of the Church of England, and that no foreign bishop had any power or authority in these realms. But this was only the beginning of the end. On the 4th of January, 1540, the King's Commissioners visited the Abbey, and demanded its surrender into their hands for the King. Abbot Parker was probably dead, and buried in the rich tomb in the Choir. But the Prior and the monks were here, and they met the King's Commissioners in this Chapter House. One by one they came forward and signed the articles of surrender. Then receiving each a small annual pension, they went out into the hard world to end their days as best they could. The next year this Abbey Church was turned into a Cathedral, and a Bishop of Gloucester was appointed for the first time since the conquest of Britain by the Saxons in the sixth century. Long may our Gloucester Cathedral exist to tell its history of past victories for Christ, of soul-inspiring services of praise and prayer, and of brave struggles for political liberty; and may the hearts of all classes be drawn more and more through its influence, and the influence of those who minister therein, to the loving service of our great Master and Saviour Christ.

The proceedings closed with the proposal by Canon HARVEY of a vote of thanks to Mr. Bazeley for his address.

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On Saturday, January 26th, 1884, three hundred men employed at Messrs. Fielding and Platt's Atlas Iron Works, visited the Cathedral and were most of them present at the afternoon service. The Rev. D. TINLING, Canon in Residence, expressed his pleasure at seeing so many working men at the Cathedral and accompanied the party in their walk through the building. The Rev. J. P. A. BOWERS and Mr. HUNT also acted as guides. From the choir the men adjourned to the Chapter House where Canon Tinling made some interesting remarks. Mr. F. W. WALLER then proceeded, with the aid of illustrations, which were exhibited by means of the oxy-hydrogen light, to repeat the admirable lecture which had been read by him to the members of the Cathedral Society on the 17th inst. At the close of Mr. Waller's address Mr. Fielding proposed a vote of thanks to the Dean and Chapter for their invitation to the Cathedral and to the executive committee for arranging the visit. This was seconded by the Rev. E. C. SCOBELL and carried unanimously.



On Thursday, July 10th, 1884, about thirty-five members of the society visited Hereford and Kilpeck, under the presidency of Sir WILLIAM V. GUISE, Bart.

It was hoped that the Rev. Prebendary F. T. HAVERGAL, who has an intimate knowledge of Hereford Cathedral, would have acted as guide, but he was unfortunately unable to do so.

On arriving at the Cathedral, the society received a courteous welcome from the Rev. Prebendary T. W. WEBB, who was acting as residentiary canon in the absence of Canon J. JEBB, and two hours were spent in examining the monumental and architectural details under the guidance of one of the vergers.

In recording this visit of the Society, it may be well to point out the close connexion that existed in olden times between St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, and the city and county of Hereford. St. Guthlac's, the largest and most important of the priories dependent on St. Peter's, was at Hereford. The advowsons of the churches of St. Andrew and St. Nicholas in the same city belonged to the abbey; and another Hereford church, St. Peter's, was in very early times united with St. Guthlac's Priory. Two of the abbots of Gloucester, Gilbert Foliot and Reginald Boteler, were promoted to the see of Hereford. Three more of the dependent priories, Ewias Harold, Bromfield, and Kilpeck, were in the diocese of Hereford, and twenty-one churches, ten manors, and other properties, belonging to St. Peter's, were situated in that county.

In the afternoon the party proceeded by train to St. Devereux, from whence a quarter of an hour's walk brought them to the church and castle of Kilpeck.

On the summit of the artificial mound near the ruins of the old shell keep, Sir WILLIAM V. GUISE read part of the article on Kilpeck Castle which appears in Mr. Clark's recently published work on *Mediæval Military Architecture*.<sup>1</sup>

From the castle the members proceeded to the church, where they were received by the vicar, the Rev. E. R. FIRMSTONE, and other residents in the neighbourhood of Kilpeck.

At the request of Sir WILLIAM V. GUISE, the Rev. W. BAZELEY read the following notes which he had prepared on the Church of Kilpeck and its Patrons.

"The earliest mention of a church at Kilpeck is found in a document professing to be the register of Llandaff Cathedral, where it is stated that Fanu, son of Benjamin, gave the church of Kilpeck to God and St. Dubricius; but some doubt exists as to the genuineness of this document.

The history and chartulary of St. Peter's, Gloucester, says that Hugh Fitz-Norman gave the church of St. David, at Kilpeck, and the chapel of St. Mary in the Castle, to the abbey, together with all the tithes and advowsons that Hugh held in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire.<sup>1</sup> The patron saint of Kilpeck was of course the Welsh St. David, who is said to have died about the middle of the 6th century.

The church affords evidence of having been used both as a conventual and parochial church. There is a choir and apse, and there were probably two screens.

The church was restored some forty years ago, and although the carving and ashlar work were carefully replaced, much that would have told the history of the building was probably destroyed.

We learn from Domesday Book that during the time of Edward the Confessor a thane called Cadiand held Kilpeck as part of the royal demesne. In 1087 William Fitz-Norman held it. He also held other estates in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire. Hugh Fitz-William was in possession of his father's property in 1131. He is said to have been the builder of the castle and church, and the founder of the priory. There are in the registers of St. Peter's Abbey confirmations of his grants by King Stephen in 1138, by Theodore, Archbishop 1139-1148, and by Gilbert Foliot, bishop of Hereford 1148-1162. The last of these confirmation deeds appears in Frocester's Register A, and is interesting from the names of the witnesses, Roger Fitz-Milo, Earl of Hereford, Hugh Fitz-Norman, Ralph Avenel, Maurice, sheriff of Herefordshire, Robert de Watervylle, the King's sewer, Walter Walensis, and many others. As Gilbert Foliot was promoted to Hereford in 1148, and Earl Roger died about 1156, the date of this confirmation must have been between those two years. This is the last we read of Hugh Fitz-William Fitz-Norman. He was probably succeeded by his son, Henry de Kilpeck, about 1154, as Henry had to pay a fine in that year to King Stephen for trespass on the royal forest of Hay, of which, as tenant-in-chief of Little Tainton, he was the proper custodian. He is mentioned as late as 1189, as being in arrear to Richard I. for dues for the Forest of Trivet.

John de Kilpeck, son of Henry, purchased the barony of Purbeck, Shropshire, of the Crown, in 1193, for £100. He died in 1204, and Julian, his widow, paid 60 marks to King John for leave to marry whom she pleased. Hugh de Kilpeck, son of John and Julian, being under age when his father died, was a ward to William de Cantilupe. In 1211, 1213, and 1214, King John paid several visits to the castle of Kilpeck. Hugh died about 1240, leaving by Egidia, his wife, John, the last baron of Kilpeck. John left two daughters, co-heiresses, Isabella and Joan. Isabella married William Waleran

<sup>1</sup> Hist. et Cart., S. Pet., Glou., vol. i., p 9r.



in 1244, and had Kilpeck as part of her share. Her son, Robert Waleran, was sheriff of Gloucestershire, from 1251 to 1256, and it was to a great extent owing to his loyalty and courage that Prince Edward won the battle of Evesham. Robert Waleran received a substantial reward in the manors of several of the Earl of Montfort's supporters. He had no children of his own, and his estates passed to his nephew, Robert, for his life, and then by entail to Alan de Plunkenet, his sister Alice's son. Alan Plunkenet had no children, and his estates passed to his sister Joan, wife of Edward de Bohun. On the death of Joan de Bohun, in 1327, the Kilpeck estates passed into the hands of the Butlers, Earls of Ormond, and they held them till the attainder of the fifth Earl, who was beheaded in 1467. They were restored to the Butlers in 1469, and were sold by that family in 1545, to the Pyes. Sir Walter Pye garrisoned Kilpeck Castle for Charles I., and on his fall it was destroyed by the Parliament. The Pyes followed James II. into exile, and one of them bore the honorary title of Baron Kilpeck."

At the conclusion of these remarks the party proceeded to examine the various points of interest in the building, and the Rev. W. BAZELEY read the following extracts from a paper which was read some years ago by Mr. THOMAS BLASHILL before the Cambrian Archæological Society, and which will be found in the *Transactions* of that Society:—

"This Church probably dates from the early part of the 12th century, having a mixture of 12th century arrangements and details with others of an exceedingly archaic character. The general idea of the columns at Kilpeck, in which human figures, monsters and birds, are mixed up with foliage and knot-work, is consistent with the ordinary practice of 12th century sculptors."

*Chancel Arch.*—"The chancel arch is of ordinary Norman character. Its jambs, usually ornamented with columns, are here carved in the forms of saints carrying their various attributes. Amongst them is St. Peter, bearing a key."

*Choir.*—"In the south wall of the choir are an early English window and priest's doorway, probably inserted about the middle of the 13th century."

*The Apse.*—"The apse is vaulted with ribs, ornamented with Norman zigzag, and having a central boss composed of grotesque heads, very similar to the work at Elkstone."

*The Font.*—"The font is one of those shallow large bowls of 12th century workmanship, of which several remain in the county (Herefordshire,) as at Bradwardine."

*The Stoup.*—"In the choir "there is a water stoup having a pair of arms clasped round it, which appears to be of very ancient date, probably as old as any portion of the church."

*Frescoes.*—Mr. Lewis says, "In 1818 I saw the remains of a good deal of fresco painting on the walls and the sculptured forms; but I had no opportunity then either to make sketches or notes."<sup>1</sup>

*South Porch.*—"In the arch of the south doorway the general design is quite consistent with ordinary English work of the 12th century. We have the Norman zigzag and star-shaped sinkings. The outer ornament of the arch is composed of medallions, joined together by grotesque masks, as, in the font at Stottesdon, in Shropshire. Some of the medallions contain birds exactly like those on the 12th century font at Winchester. The tympanum is filled with ordinary carvings representing the vine. The rim of heads and grotesque figures which surrounds it is a remarkable adaptation of the common 12th century ornament called the beak or cat's head. The little spur on one of the bases is exactly like one at St. Peter's, Northampton. The figures amongst the foliage on the jambs of the doorway are said to be in Anglo-Saxon costume. An ordinary graver of the period would have put them in Norman armour, or in some more graceful shape, as in the west doorway of Chartres cathedral."

*Corbel Table.*—"Many of the little pieces of sculpture, particularly in the corbel table which runs round the eaves of the building, represent such subjects as the Lamb, the signs of the zodiac, and grotesque heads of men and animals."

*West End.*—"The most remarkable feature of the building is the pair of grotesque heads which project from the west end, just as in old timber constructions the ends of the wall plates were made to project, and were carved into fanciful shapes. Indeed this feature looks like a reminiscence of some previous timber building. These strange heads may be compared with the monstrous snake-like figures which twine about the doorway. The prevalence of such grotesque forms is highly characteristic of the Celtic school of ornament. These were indeed afterwards adopted and largely introduced into all the succeeding periods of Gothic art, the belief in dragons being quite common down to the 17th century, the learned classifying them in species as confidently as a zoologist would now classify a particular genus of animals."

*West Window.*—"The ornament in the west window is almost purely Celtic, and may be compared with that of the Irish crosses and carved stones. The columns at the sides are of the same size as the roll above them. This is quite an Irish feature, and betrays a want of knowledge of the relation which a column bears to the arch it carries. A Romanesque architect would have made the column smaller and the arch more square in section, with a small roll moulding or zigzag ornament on the edge."

<sup>1</sup> Lewis's *Illustrations of Kilpeck Church*, 1843.



*General Remarks.*—"Although the general design" of this church "is of an ordinary type, the style of sculpture has a character of its own; for while the 12th century sculptors generally in England adopted eagerly that mixture of Byzantine and Romanesque ornament which was introduced from Normandy, developing it in a fashion of their own, the man who did this work evidently set himself to adapt the ancient style which was then dying out in these islands of the west, and although we see frequent instances in which that style peeps out in the late Norman work, yet this was the only part of the country in which any determined effort was made to work in that old manner which was doomed to disappear before the great artistic revival then taking place in western Europe."

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A move was then made for the site of Kilpeck Priory, now occupied by farm buildings, and the following notes were read by the Rev. W. BAZELEY:—

"The munificent donations of Hugh Fitz-Norman in 1134 were probably made on condition that a dependent priory or cell of Benedictine monks should be established at Kilpeck; and this was done within a few years. The object of Hugh Fitz-Norman in making this condition was to have a civilizing centre amongst his tenants and serfs, as well as a regular supply of chaplains for his churches of Kilpeck and Dewchurch, and his castle chapel. The monks of the new priory would be partly clerical, partly lay, and whilst the former were engaged in the services of the church, or the household duties of the priory, the latter would be cultivating the priory lands. We must not look upon the monks of these days as drones or as revellers. They lived under strict rules, and had plenty of healthy occupation as well as religious privileges. The prior of Kilpeck seems to have had the entire charge and responsibility of the priory lands, although he was of course bound to render some allegiance to his lord, the abbot of St. Peter's. In return for this he had a vote in the election of a new abbot, and was summoned to Gloucester for that purpose. His connexion with the great abbey of St. Peter's must have been a great security to him in such lawless parts as the Marches of Wales. If he were injured or unjustly deprived of his rights, his lord would be both able and willing to procure redress."

There was a difference between Kilpeck and the other dependent priories of St. Peter. Whereas the others were at one time independent foundations, and were led for security, or to please their patrons, to incorporate themselves with the abbey of Gloucester, Kilpeck was never entirely free, but was founded after the priory lands had been bestowed upon the abbey.

There are very few references to Kilpeck in the abbey registers; the history of the priory has yet to be discovered. That it had a history may be considered certain, for Kilpeck was on the road from Hereford to S. Wales,

and had a strong fortress in its immediate neighbourhood. For many years after its foundation, the restless Welsh made incursions in the direction of Hereford, and the monks had the choice of taking refuge within the castle walls, or suffering at the hands of an unsparing foe.

There were three papal confirmations of the priory of Kilpeck to the Abbey of Gloucester: by Clement III., in 1190; by Celestine III., in 1195; and by Innocent III., in 1200.

Hugh Foliot, bishop of Hereford 1219-1234, with the assent of Richard, prior of Kilpeck, and Adam, vicar of Dewchurch, arranged what part of the priory tithes were to be received by the said vicar, and what privileges and responsibilities belonged to him.

Thomas de Bredon, abbot 1224-1228, purchased eight acres of land below the garden of St. David's, half a meadow and half a wood, of Roger Walensis, son of Roger, and then let them to him, to hold of the priory of Kilpeck, for 12s. annually. This transaction shows us the relative positions of the abbey and the priory. Whenever there was any important business to be transacted, it was done in the name of the abbot. At other times the prior was in command. Still, as time went on, no doubt the authority was more and more centralized till the prior became simply an inferior officer of the abbey.

In 1266-7, the rents or fees which are said to be due to the abbot for his personal use from the priory of Kilpeck, are 2s.6d. In the same year there was a survey made of the abbey manors. Kilpeck and Dewchurch do not appear, thus showing that the priory was still comparatively independent.

In 1271, John le Breton, bishop of Hereford, in a confirmation of the abbey property in his diocese, mentions Kilpeck priory as a dependent cell.

In 1276, Reginald de Homme, abbot of St. Peter's, let the lands and premises which had been purchased by Thomas de Bredon of Roger Walensis, to William Shrivenham, prior of Kilpeck, for 7s. annually. These are stated to be worth 8s. a year, but the prior made a reduction of 1s. annually. This shows that the rental value of this land had decreased 33 per cent. during the half century, as Roger rented it at 12s. a year.

In 1284, William de Shrivenham was summoned to Gloucester as prior of Kilpeck to assist in the election of a new abbot, and one of the priors, John de Gamages, prior of St. Guthlac's, Hereford, was elected abbot. It is hardly likely that any prior of Kilpeck was so advanced at a single step. The whole account of the election is given in the abbey registers.

In 1317, there were sad complaints that the monks were not well treated at the dependent cells, and John Thokey issued injunctions to the priors of



St. Guthlac, Ewenny, Bromfield, Stanley, and Kilpeck, ordering a mark to be given to each monk annually, half at Christmas and half at Easter, for a feast. He forbade, however, on pain of partial excommunication, the use of flesh or wine during Advent and the three weeks preceding Lent, except in case of sickness.

In 1422-48, Kilpeck priory was dissolved. The monks were withdrawn to Gloucester, and from that time Dewchurch and Kilpeck were considered an ordinary manor of St. Peter's, and were let to tenants as such.

In 1535, the annual value of this manor was said to be £7 5s. 5½d. nett.

In 1539, the great abbey of St. Peter's was dissolved, and a grant of this manor was made to Baldwin Treville, from whom it descended to the Booths, and the Clives.

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During the afternoon an interesting relic of the 17th century was purchased by one of the subscribers, Mr. H. W. Bruton. This was an original copper-plate likeness of a young cavalier, engraved by Faithorne, which had been found by a villager within the precincts of Kilpeck Castle, near the old Keep. Mr. Bruton has very generously promised to allow the plate to be used for one of the illustrations of this work.

At 7.14 p.m., the party having given a vote of thanks to the President, Sir W. V. Guise, and to the secretary, the Rev. W. Bazeley, left St. Devereux station for Hereford and Gloucester.

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CATHEDRAL SINGERS IN TIMES PAST  
AND PRESENT.

BY THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF WELLS.

If I were to include in the "past" of Cathedral music all that belongs to its remoter *genesis* and growth, I should have a larger task before me than I could hope to master within the compass of a single paper. The psalmody of the Christian Church, to start with, is confessedly the heir of the psalmody of the Jewish. Our white-robed choirs answer to those of the Levites of the Tabernacle or the Temple, to the sons of the Prophets with "Samuel standing as appointed over them."<sup>1</sup> Our chants and our instruments of music are probably, if not certainly, descended from those which were in use in the second Temple in the time of our Lord and His Apostles. The musical notation, the tunes indicated in the titles of the Psalms, belong to those who are experts in such matters, and not to me. It is enough to note that the religious instincts of mankind, under systems differing in many respects as widely as those of Israel and of Christendom, have worked in the same direction and even in the same grooves, that in both we find men whose life-work it has been to develop the resources of voice and skill, to lead the praises of the congregation, to make music the worthy exponent of the deep spiritual emotions of the soul, to stir up those emotions where they were before dormant, to soothe and purify them where, left unguided, they might have tended to an orgiastic fanaticism. And it can scarcely be questioned that, in Israel, as in the Christian Church, boys also took their place with adults as leading the psalmody of the worshippers. Men must have felt then, as we feel now, the exquisite beauty of that high and clear soprano which seems to

<sup>1</sup> 1 Samuel xix. 20.



anticipate the music of the angels. "Young men and maidens, old men and children"<sup>1</sup> would all seem to have had their place in the worship of the second Temple. The words that affirm that out of the mouth of babes and sucklings God has "perfected His praise"<sup>2</sup> may have had a special reference, as the psalmist wrote them, to such singers. The children in whom our Lord found the fulfilment of those words, and who raised their cry of "Hosanna to the Son of David,"<sup>3</sup> when priests and scribes were silent, were probably the choristers of the Temple. The search after the fountains of the streams which have flowed into the great river of praise that "maketh glad the city of our God" might take us, had we time, into yet remoter regions. The timbrels and dances, the music and the song, the choral functions of the Levites, and, it may be, of the women of the congregation, may have had their origin "when Israel came out of Egypt," in the minstrelsy of the Temples of Isis and Osiris. That of Artemis of the Ephesians, with its large staff of priests and priestesses, and its endowed school for choristers, must have presented many points of resemblance to the establishment of a great cathedral.<sup>4</sup>

Passing to a time which brings us nearer to our subject, we may think of the work of Clement of Alexandria as the writer of the first Christian hymn for the boys whom he sought to educate, as a schoolmaster,<sup>5</sup> leading them to Christ, of Chrysostome meeting the processional hymns of the Arians with others, fuller and more stirring, which were witnesses to the Church's faith, of Justinian's great basilica at Constantinople, which under its modern name of the Mosque of Santa Sophia, still bears its witness to its dedication to the Divine Wisdom, with its grand choir of forty singers, and of Augustine's witness to the soothing and spirit-stirring character of the Ambrosian chants at Milan as contrasted with the graver monotone of the African churches<sup>6</sup> and Gregory's sevenfold litanies, or prayer of procession in the streets of Rome, in which, we can scarcely doubt, the fair-haired Anglo-boys, whom he sought to train into angel-ministers of the

<sup>1</sup> Psalm cxlviii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Psalm viii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew xxi. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Wood's *Ephesus*, pp. 4-45.

<sup>5</sup> *Pædagogus*.

<sup>6</sup> *Confess.* ix. 6, 7.

sanctuary, bore their part,<sup>1</sup> and Charlemagne's efforts to establish through all the provinces of his vast empire musical schools like that which our own Alcuin had already set on foot at York, and the great monastery at Whitby, where, under the saintly Hilda, men and boys were trained for the work of the priesthood and the service of the sanctuary.<sup>2</sup> To these, however, we can give but a passing glance, and I pass to that of which I propose to treat, the organisation of an English Cathedral, and the provisions made for the completeness of its worship. I naturally draw my sketch—it lies in the nature of the case that it can hardly be more than that—chiefly from the history of the cathedral with which I am best acquainted, but it will be found, if I mistake not, to present a type which was re-produced, with variations of greater or less importance, in all like foundations of the same period.

A Cathedral Church, then, the church of the throne or *cathedra* of the Bishop of the Diocese, might be either monastic or collegiate, its priests, *i.e.*, might be either regular or secular, bound by the rule of a religious order, Benedictine or Cistercian, or subject only, like the parochial clergy, to the discipline of the Church which was common to every member of the priesthood. In either case the establishment consisted of, say from twenty to fifty priests, who, as bound by the *canon* or rule of the foundation, were known as the *canonici* or canons, and as having a prebend or estate assigned to them for their maintenance bore also the name of prebendaries, and of an undefined number of *cantores*, or singing men, holding often also the more definitely ecclesiastical position of *lectores*, or readers, as one of the minor orders of the Church, of boy-acolytes and choristers, sacristans, vergers, and the like. The dominant idea in many cathedrals was that there should be a continuous service of psalmody and praise, and in order to complete it, in addition to the daily masses and the seven hours of nocturns, prime, matins, tierce, sext, nones, and evensong or vespers, each canon-prebendary was bound, as at Wells, Salisbury, St. Paul's, to the recitation of three or more psalms,

<sup>1</sup> Bright's *Early English Church History*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Bright, *ut supra*, p. 273.



so that the whole psalter might be repeated every day. The whole body was under the direction of an abbot, or, in collegiate and secular churches, of a provost or a dean, (the latter title gradually taking the place of the former,) who had a sub-dean to assist him, or represent him in his absence. Next to these, besides the Archdeacons, who, though not necessarily members of the Chapter, were commonly associated with it, and had stalls in the choir and chapter house assigned to them, were the three other dignitaries: the Treasurer, who had the charge of the sacred vessels and vestments of the Church; the Precentor, who directed its music and superintended, as far as it was concerned, the training of the singing men and boys; the Chancellor, or *archischola*, who, as his first name suggests, prepared and watched over the records, Chapter Acts, and other official documents, and in virtue of the functions implied in the second, had the care of their more general education in the culture of the time, in Latin, and theology and history.

It was assumed in the original constitution of these bodies that each prebendary or canon would have sufficient knowledge of music to be able to take his own part in the services of the Church, and that, with rare occasional exceptions, he would be a resident member of the body. In practice, however, the reality fell short of the ideal. Nepotism or favouritism led to the appointment of men who were not musical experts. The same men held canonries in two or more cathedrals, or had rectories at a distance, where it was more convenient or more profitable to reside. It became necessary to attract men into residence by giving them a larger or an exclusive share in the common or divisible income of the Chapter, as distinguished from the estates which were assigned to the prebendaries individually. And with this first downward step there followed a long train of other evils. It was necessary to fill the places thus left vacant, and to provide substitutes for the canons who, though residentiary, were unable or unwilling to perform their duties according to the ideal of Cathedral life, and so we enter upon the stage of Cathedral history in which Vicars Choral appear as part of the foundation. Of all words in ecclesiastical terminology there are, perhaps, none

which so distinctly bear their witness to the evil out of which they sprang. It would have been well, indeed, both as regards Cathedrals and parishes, if the word "vicar" had never found a place in the vocabulary of the English Church, for it speaks, wherever it is found, of neglected duties and misappropriated revenues, of richly-paid sinecures, and under-paid workers, and of the evil leaven of each man doing as little of his own work as possible, and leaving the remainder to be done by others. Men must have been strangely forgetful of the meaning and history of the word when, not many years ago, a large number of our clergy who were in no sense substitutes for rectors or lay impropriators, and to whom therefore the title of vicars was utterly inappropriate, sought for or accepted, that title as a more respectable—I had almost said, as indicating the low standard of thought which suggested the alteration, a more "genteel"—appellative than that of perpetual, as distinct from temporary or stipendiary, curates.

At first, it would seem, each absent or indolent or superannuated canon appointed his own vicar. It is not difficult, knowing what we do of the life of the clergy, both regular and secular, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to picture to ourselves the scandals which grew out of this practice. Take Chaucer's pictures of the lower order of the clergy, who left their flocks and ran up to St. Paul's to "seek out a chantery for souls;" think of the "hedge priests" who were wandering up and down the country, ready to say mass for a morsel of bread, and craving to be put in some ecclesiastical position where there would be neither pastoral work nor enforced study; think of the love of sports and the intemperance which were inherent in the English character, and of the sensuality which the church's rule of celibacy stimulated rather than restrained; and you can imagine all too easily what must have been the scandal of our Cathedral cities; how the sensation caused in them by the arrival of the Franciscan or Dominican Friars with their visible poverty, their lives of self-denial, and their, in a very true sense, evangelic preaching, must have presented many striking parallelisms to that produced by the appearance of the Wesleyan preachers of the last century, or those of the Salvation Army of the present, in the same localities.



Earnest, reforming, disciplinarian bishops, not quite prepared to abandon the ideal of cathedral life, felt that in some way or other these evils must be remedied, or at least restrained. And, as they felt themselves unable to lay the axe to the root of the tree they entered on a system of palliative and half remedial measures. Instead of living loose in the city, and subject to all its evil influences, the Vicars Choral might be brought into a corporate body, subject to the discipline and influences of collegiate and associated life, and so be as lights shining in the world. So it was, to take my first example from the history of my own Cathedral, that Bishop Jocelyn, the great builder of the present structure, and after him Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury, founded and endowed at Wells the College of Vicars Choral. It was in every sense a noble effort. The whole body of the Vicars, in the greater or the lesser orders,—none, I imagine, were altogether laymen—were placed under the government of two principals and five seniors, who were to maintain order and decorum. The word senior, as in like cases in our Oxford and Cambridge colleges, implies other and junior members, and as the canonical age for admission to the office of a reader was fixed at sixteen, it is probable that the younger vicars were often not much more than that, elected when their man's voice was beginning to show its character. The college had estates assigned to it, that the vicars might have food convenient for them and escape the perils of pauperism, and have no excuse for engaging in secular occupations. They were to live in separate houses—experience had taught them, it may be, the evils incident to common dormitories—but they were to take their meals in common, for experience had also taught the evils which followed on clerks frequenting taverns. Strict rules were laid down for morals and for manners; oaths and bad language were to be punished with fines; their dress was to be grave and sober; their houses were to be within a close, the gates of which were to be closed at curfew time. In the cathedral they were to be subject to the authority of the Dean and Chapter, but within their close they were to be, as it were, under their own police. To guard against nepotism and like evils on the part of the canons, they were to have, though the canons

retained the formal right of nominating and perpetuating, a distinct veto at each stage of the process.

Reading between the lines of ancient statutes, it would seem as if some at least of the canons rather resented this limitation of their powers. Symptoms began to show themselves of undue pressure exercised upon the vicars to induce them to accept the nominees of individual canons. It was enacted accordingly by the Dean and Chapter under Bishop Ralph that no one should be admitted as able and fit for voice and skill by a mere collective assent, but that each vicar should personally give his opinion as to the fitness of the candidate at the beginning or end of his probation. To each novice entering on that period one expert vicar was assigned as an *auscultator*, or 'hearer,' upon whom therefore the responsibility of judging, perhaps also of training, would weigh most heavily.<sup>1</sup>

It was, we may frankly admit, the conception of a grand ideal. The misfortune was that, like other ideal schemes, it would not work. The good bishops had not allowed for the deadening, hardening influence of a life passed in the discharge of a routine of ceremonial duties, with no special aptitude for activity in good works. The daily round of services, from nocturns to evensong, must have too often in such cases become a burden to the weary beast; and, as the records show, he found himself tempted, by way of change, to wallowing in the mire. And so it was that the Dean and Chapter, not always, perhaps, with the clearness of insight which belongs to those who have cast out the beam out of their own eye, began making ineffectual attempts to cast out the mote from the eye of the Vicars Choral. If they swore or quarrelled, if they were drunk or disorderly, if they preferred hunting, fishing, hawking, to the services of the cathedral, if they neglected their daily offices, and came only when there was a distribution of doles, if they were incapacitated by age or infirmity from performing their functions, and did not provide a deputy; if they aped the dress and manners of the laymen of their own class, they were to lose their daily penny

<sup>1</sup> Reynolds' *History of Wells*, p. 81.



for a day, a week, a month, or might incur graver money penalties, or might be suspended, or, in the last resort, deprived of their office.<sup>1</sup>

Matters did not improve during the disordered times that followed on the Reformation. The relation between the College and the Chapter were almost those of internecine warfare. The latter began about the last quarter of the sixteenth century to claim and exercise the right of nominating and perpetuating without the consent of the former. We can see, at any rate, that the changes of ritual and life which followed what we loosely call the Reformation must have altered the conditions under which both canons and vicars lived. Two services a day left idle hands much more time to work their proverbial mischief than seven; the vicars became, as a body, more essentially laicised, and, with the exception of the three priest-vicars who yet remained for distinctly clerical functions, took more and more to engaging in secular occupations.

A feeble attempt was made by Bishop Jewell in 1592 at reviving the old ideal, and he gave injunctions, in his character as a royal commissioner, that the lay vicars, if they did not study by themselves, should go to the Cathedral Grammar School (it is obvious from this that some must have been under age) and there be taught such things as might help to make them good and useful citizens.<sup>2</sup>

A like attempt is traceable in the canons of A.D. 1571 and A.D. 1604 (c. 42,) which provide that the singing men in cathedrals should spend part of each day in the study of theology, and specially in reading the New Testament, both in Latin and English. Unfortunately, or otherwise, this law was left without the sanction of a penalty. It was not made the duty of deans and canons to teach their singing men Latin, or to read the New Testament with them.

Shortly after Bishop Jewell's efforts, however, there was what we must describe as emphatically a lost opportunity. Advantage was taken by the Crown lawyers of the disputes between

<sup>1</sup> Reynolds, pp. 59-94.

<sup>2</sup> Reynolds, p. 177.

the two bodies, of the uncertainty which, it was alleged, attached to the titles by which they held their estates, to insist on their accepting new charters from the Crown. The documents are of almost unequalled verbosity, and suggest the idea that the vicars and canons must have paid heavily for their parchments. What is noticeable in both is the utter absence of anything like the nobler striving after an ideal which had marked the original foundation of Bishop Ralph and the early statutes. That given to the vicars confirms their right to a veto on the perpetuation of the probationers nominated by the Dean and Chapter, gives them an independent power to expel from their body any vicious or unworthy member, and limits their number to fourteen as a *minimum* and twenty as a *maximum*. That given to the Dean and Chapter gives them a general power to make statutes and regulations for the vicars, and to exercise jurisdiction over them. Both documents pre-suppose existing statutes and customs which, however, are neither codified nor formulated. So the two societies started on their way for a new period of probation.

It must be admitted, I fear, when we look back upon the two centuries and a half which have passed since that date, that the result of the experiment has not been altogether satisfactory. Quarrels, disputes, contumacy, manifold immoralities, spasmodic assertions of authority, appear in the records after the Reformation as they had appeared before it.<sup>1</sup> It was, perhaps, well that the vicars were for the most part engaged in other occupations, for this gave them at least the protection of an honest industry. That, however, in its turn, tended to another departure from the ideal of the founder. Two services a day were a somewhat serious hindrance to business, and so it was arranged somewhere about the middle of the eighteenth century that they should attend in alternate weeks. Contemporaneously with this the number was allowed to fall below the *minimum* of the Elizabethan charter, each member of the College thus securing a larger share of the corporate revenues, and all that remained of the daily worship which Bishop Ralph had contemplated was the presence of four

<sup>1</sup> Chapter Acts, *passim*.



lay singers (if even that) at the daily services of the Cathedral. At last, but not till 1875, the Dean and Chapter, after an over-long acquiescence, were led to take action towards bringing up the College to its *minimum* standard of numerical completeness. That action was, of course, resisted on the ground of vested interests. The Visitor, acting on the advice of Lord Selbourne, decided that the vicars had no right to resist the completion of their number, but that the vested interests were to be respected, and accordingly this first effort at reform will for many years to come, if not in perpetuity, involve a payment of over £200 a year from the general fund of the Dean and Chapter.

I do not suppose that the history which I have traced is either much worse or much better than that of other like foundations. The same influence operating on men of the same race, *status*, culture, religion, have, as far as I can learn, brought about much the same result elsewhere. The lay singers of our cathedral at Wells were but passing through the same stage of decadence as the deans, canons, prebendaries, the stage in which an old ideal has been abandoned, and no adequate new ideal has come to take its place, in which things are simply kept together so as to secure the *maximum* of money payment for the *minimum* of labour. When one thinks of the cathedrals of the English Church as they were, with their pluralities and their sinecures, their nepotism and their favouritism, their patronage and their jobs, chancellor, precentor, treasurer, being but shadowy *simulacra* of their former dignities, canons residing, if they did reside, and doing nothing else, and prebendaries doing little beyond enjoying their prebends, one thinks that if a prophet or an angel had looked on them he might have asked sadly and sternly "Can these dry bones live?"<sup>1</sup> When the Head-gardener of the Church looked on such a vineyard as that, the "field of the slothful and the vineyard of the man void of understanding, all grown over with thorns, and nettles covering the face thereof, and the stone wall broken down,"<sup>2</sup> bringing forth wild grapes only, out of which there flowed no wine of praise to make glad the heart of God and man, it might have been feared that the command would go forth that it should

be laid waste, and that the clouds should rain no rain upon it that the sentence would be passed upon the barren fig tree, "Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?"<sup>1</sup>

Happily there was a long-suffering wisdom that postponed that summary judgment and gave yet another opportunity for repentance. The Cathedral Reforms of 1835-40 were not indeed guided by any very high or definite conceptions of the ideal of cathedral life, and were, for the most part, simply economical in their nature, lopping off the most flagrant abuses and diverting misappropriated revenues into more profitable channels. Canonries were still treated rather as rewards for past services than on the principle of payment for work actually done, and the plan of a three months' residence, not unfrequently with only one house for the four residentiaries, was practically a confession that they had but little work to do for the cathedral city or the diocese. As it was, however, the lopping process was itself useful. Men began to feel less of that consciousness of belonging to a corrupt and indefensible system which is the great obstacle to reform, and the influence of the *Zeit-geist*, the spirit which proclaims the law that if a man will not work neither shall he eat, began to penetrate even into cathedral precincts. There was a stirring among the dead bones, and the four winds blew upon them and roused them to a new vitality. Nave services, Advent and Lent special sermons, services for children, began to make the cathedral more the centre of the spiritual life of the diocese than it had been at any period since the Reformation, perhaps also more than in the two centuries that preceded it.

Whether the changes that have been, or are to be, proposed by the Cathedral Commissioners now sitting will overcome the obstacles of obstruction and blocking and counting out which seem to await all ecclesiastical legislation in the House of Commons is a question which I do not venture to answer with any very sanguine expectations. But so far as we may judge from the reports which they have already issued, they are at least working with a more intelligent aim than their predecessors, are

<sup>1</sup> Luke xiii. 7.



more anxious that the cathedrals should be, in some measure, what they were meant to be, and have some *raison d'être* to justify their existence beyond supplying pensions for merit which is fortunate as well as meritorious, or opportunities for learned, or unlearned, leisure. The dignitaries of the cathedral are, in their schemes, to be galvanized into a new vitality. The chancellor is to lecture on theology and look after the cathedral schools. The precentor is to regulate and direct the music, not of the cathedral only but, as far as may be, to stimulate and influence that of the diocese also. The preaching *rota* is to expand so that the cathedral city may hear words of comfort and counsel from the gifted preachers of the day. One, at least, of the canons is to be ready to give himself, under the direction of the Bishop, to mission work of this character. In regard to the Vicars Choral, lay clerks, singing men, or by whatever other name they may be called, their plans do not appear to go further than the initial step of sweeping away the corporate rights which place them in a false position, and are found hindrances to expansion and reform, and putting them on the footing of stipendiaries. The ground will, if these plans are carried into effect, be cleared for further action. It is in view of this opening that I wish now to call attention to what seems to me the teaching of experience, and to suggest a scheme which at least approximates to a rehabilitation of the old ideal, an attempt to make the work of our cathedral singers more profitable to their own spiritual life, as well as to that of those who hear them. Experience has, I fear, shown that, as it is, that work is not without special perils of its own. Passive impressions by being repeated grow weaker, and the law of our moral nature tends therefore, unless there is an activity of the soul in thought, study, activity for good, to make familiarity with sacred words, which are above its religious level, deadening and depressing. The work becomes more and more mechanical and professional. It is the exception I imagine, rather than the rule, even now, though things are, in this respect, better than they were, to find our cathedral singers regular communicants.

What I suggest accordingly, following on the track of Mr. E. A. Freeman's hints in his *Lecture on Wells Cathedral*, p. 139,

is a system of short service, rather than of a long or life tenure, and I would connect that service with more favourable conditions. Where there is a theological college connected with the cathedral, it would not, I conceive, be difficult to attract to it, by choral studentships of £80 or £100, young men with the necessary musical qualifications, and with a natural delight in their exercise, who would welcome the opportunity of thus coming under cathedral training. Even where there is no such college, a distinct provision might be made, without much difficulty, for their theological instruction after the pattern of which Dr. Vaughan, at Doncaster, and Dr. Gott, at Leeds, have set such admirable examples. Their student life, their initiation into pastoral work, would thus go on side by side with their work as singers, and would enliven, strengthen, ennoble it. Earnest and devout feeling would not fail to enhance the beauty of anthems and of chants. Studentships, such as I have described, might be tenable in the first instance for three years. At the end of that time their office might be prolonged at the discretion of the dean and chapter, and with the consent of the bishop, during a two years' diaconate, for which, in conjunction with work in some parish in or near the cathedral city, it should be a sufficient title. It is obvious that men thus trained would carry with them into their future work a knowledge, a skill which would tend to improve the choral element of worship throughout the church at large. Six or eight would, I think, be enough for the daily matins and evensong. On Sundays and the greater festivals I would reinforce them, after the manner of our parochial choirs, with the help of volunteers. Thanks to Mr. Hullah, and the more systematic teaching of singing in our elementary schools, we are in a far larger measure than we were a musical people. The parish choirs who gather for choral festivals, as in my own Cathedral at Wells last July, the supplementary choirs who, for the most part, gladly bear the burden of evensong and special services in our cathedrals, show that a high standard of excellence has been already attained, and that a still higher is attainable. The neglect of this volunteer element, this freewill offering of worship, has been one of the blunders and neglects of the deans and chapters of the past. It



is not, I hope, too late for us to learn now, as St. Paul's and Westminster, and it may be other cathedral churches have learned already, the lessons which our more active and more zealous brothers in the ministry of the Church have taught us in their parishes. I need hardly, I think, dwell on the spiritual superiority of such a system over that which now prevails. It lies in the nature of the case that, though it would not be wise or right even here to turn communion into a test and a condition, that it would tend more and more, under the influence of the moral surroundings of the work and of personal intercourse, involved in the method I propose, to become the rule and not the exception. We shrink at present from the choral celebration of the Holy Communion, without which the ideal of cathedral worship can hardly be said to attain completeness, because we dread the incongruity of a communion service conducted mainly by those who are not communicants. Under a better state of things, the sight of our singing men kneeling in their surplices at the altar rails would gladden our eyes and hearts, as it gladdens now those of many a parish priest, who sees in it a token that those who use their voice and skill in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, are also "making melody in their hearts unto the Lord."

I must pass now to the younger members of our cathedral staff, upon whom the beauty and efficiency of its service depend so largely. And here, too, we have the history of an ideal deliberately aimed at, of neglect and apathy thwarting its attainment, of attempts, more or less successful, at its revival. An interesting glimpse into the life of an English choir boy of the eleventh century is given us in the dialogues, Saxon and Latin, of Ælfric, Archbishop of York.<sup>1</sup> The boys of a cathedral or abbey school are represented as coming to their master and their friend, requesting him to teach them Latin. He questions each of them as to the industrial work in which they have been trained, the callings of baker, gardener, fisherman, sailor, and the like to which they are looking forward. He asks them for an account of their daily life as school-boys, and they tell him how they rise at midnight, poked out of bed with a stick if they do not hear the bell, and go to the church for nocturns, how this was followed by

<sup>1</sup> Thorpe's *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, p. 35.

matins, and that in its turn by the other offices of the Church, how they have hours for study and for play. He bids them 'God speed' in a friendly and cheery manner, and solemnly impresses on each of them the duty of 'being what he is.' *Esto quod es* is to be their rule of life. They find his words a little too deep for them, but promise, till they can enter into their meaning, that they will be good boys according to their lights. One of them, asked whether he has been flogged, answers that he has taken good care not to deserve it, but with a school-boy's laudable aversion to telling tales, declines to say whether any of his fellows have been flogged also. In our Wells statutes of the fourteenth century<sup>1</sup> there is a more detailed picture of the life of the choir boys of that period. There is the same round of services and school work, with a somewhat scant measure of recreation, in which the to me mysterious game of three Os holds a prominent place. They are to sign themselves with the sign of the Cross when they rise at midnight and say the *Veni Creator* and a prayer for spiritual illumination and growth in wisdom. Rules are given for their behaviour at meals. They are to eat like gentlemen (*curialiter*,) not gnawing or tearing their bread, or using their knives (forks were of later introduction) as tooth-picks. At night they are to kneel down and say their *miserere*, and "Lighten our darkness," and the Lord's Prayer, and then, their clothes off, they are to get quietly into bed, and as mattresses were dear, were to sleep three in a bed, two small boys lying one way and a bigger boy with his legs between them lying the other, and a lamp was to be kept burning that they might be ready to dress quickly when they heard the midnight bell, and, once in bed, there was to be no noise or talking. They had, of course, a master over them, but the functions of both the Chancellor as *Archischola*, and of the Precentor, placed the boys under their direct supervision also.<sup>2</sup>

We find in these quaint details a deliberate purpose to make the cathedral the centre of educational work, which was to make itself felt in the cathedral city and throughout the diocese. We trace the same purpose in the statutes of the cathedrals of the new foundation, of which those of Gloucester are, I suppose, a

<sup>1</sup> Reynolds' *History of Wells*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 179-186.



fairly representative instance, which tell, as one reason for turning abbey churches into cathedrals and collegiate churches, the King's desire that "the youth of our kingdoms should be instructed in good literature for the greater increase of the Christian faith and piety." As two masters were appointed to instruct eight choristers in grammar and the like, besides a third for their special musical training, it may be inferred that the Cathedral School was meant to be the school also of the town. Here again there was at least the recognition of an ideal. It would require a more extended knowledge of the detailed history of our English cathedrals than I possess, to trace the varying degrees in which that ideal was attained or was forgotten. Doubtless, at all times, choir boys were sent to some school or other. In some instances the cathedral school was kept up to a fair standard of efficiency, in others it was allowed to dwindle and decay, and the boys were sent to some other foundation, or to a private adventure school. But I fail to find traces of any adequate personal pastoral supervision on the part of the Chancellor and the Precentor, whose special duty it seems to have been in the Churches of the Old Foundation to watch over their education. Deans and canons, for the most part, sat in their stalls, careless of mankind, especially of choir boys. It is not without sadness that I think of set after set of the little fellows passing through the cathedral, getting an ill name, and too often deserving it, chanting psalms and singing anthems till they had extinguished the very capacity for devotion, brought into constant contact with the lay clerks, whose lives were far from models, and whose manners were more wanting in reverence than their own, exposed in later days, by their very gifts, to temptations of another kind, sought after for public dinners and music halls.

One feels, as in a thousand like instances, the 'pity' of it all, and asks whether nothing better is attainable. Are 'holiest gifts' still to find 'vilest using'? Is the *corruptio optimi pessima* to be forced upon us yet once more? Is the future history of our cathedrals to be in this point of the training of their children, as in so many others, one of unrealized ideals and abortive reforms and frustrated aspirations? I am persuaded better things of that future, though I thus speak. Spiritual life is working now, as

spiritual decay and death have worked before, and the tree that has been lopped and pruned will put forth new leaves, and be bright with fair flowers and bring forth goodly fruit. The material restoration of so many of our cathedrals implied a revival and a hope, and showed something of the spirit of self-sacrifice and of love, and where these are we may see the elements of future progress. Briefly, what we need in this last corner of the section of a great subject of which I have been speaking, is the personal care and sympathy without which nothing worth speaking of can be done in the way of education. Many details must, in the nature of the case, vary with varying circumstances. (1) The boys may be day-boys, children of local parents, or boarders from a distance. Each system has its advantages. The former is, of course, the more economical, and I have known not a few cases in which the influence of home was distinctly favourable to the boy's regularity and good conduct, and father and mother responded to any suggestion or enquiry about their son's conduct. But this is not always so, and the companions and neighbours of a local choir-boy are sometimes rougher than we could wish. On the whole, then, it seems desirable to have, if not the whole body, at least half the choristers as boarders, trained under a more definite discipline, catching the tone of a well-ordered school. (2) Choral Exhibitions, given by competition to boys of the diocese, and securing these advantages, would scarcely fail to encourage the musical training of our parish schools and choirs, and attract to the cathedral boys who have the special gifts of which it stands in need. (3) The possession of these gifts implies, for the most part, what we may call the artistic temperament, quick, emotional, sensitive, a little wanting, perhaps, in the elements of steadfastness and "grind." The life of a choir-boy, with its constant services is, it must be remembered, a somewhat severe strain upon such a boy's nature. It requires to be balanced by more games and gymnastics, than are often accessible in the precincts of the cathedral. A month's holiday at least, in every year, a half-holiday every week, and a whole holiday every month would not, I think, be in excess. It is not good to let a boy go through the process described to me not long since by a cathedral schoolmaster as that of "singing his brains out." (4) Personal



influence is, however, here, as in parish choirs, what is most wanted, and it will hardly be gained without something of the same watchfulness. To show boys that you trust and respect them, to talk to them sometimes as if they had hearts and souls, to provide for neatness and order, in cassocks, surplices, vestry arrangements, to have a Sunday or week-day reading with them in Bible or story-book, to lead them to use their gifts of song as helpers and fellow-workers, and not merely as hired machines, by the bed-sides of the sick in hospitals or cottages, to show the interest of a common life by remembering their birthdays and letting them remember yours, to correspond with them when personal intercourse is for a time suspended; these are methods which have been practised by parish clergymen with their boys in various ways, and with varying measures of success.

Who is to practise them in cathedrals is a question, the answer to which will depend on circumstances, opportunities, temperaments. There may be a minor canon, or priest-vicar, with special educational gifts. Chancellor and precentor may carry out the ideal assigned to them in the ancient statutes of our cathedrals. Canons residentiary may use their term of residence to influence, as far as they can, those with whom they are thus brought into contact. It is one advantage of this plan I have proposed, of student choirmen, that they will often be of an age and character fitted for such influence. Practically, however, there is in these cases a want of the element of permanence. Minor canons often take their duty only in alternate weeks. Our system of a three months' residence deprives the work of the canons of any adequate continuity. The time of the student choirmen would scarcely, even at its longest, cover the whole of a choir boy's career. The chief responsibility in this matter seems to me accordingly to rest on the shoulders of the dean, as the charge of the boys of a parish choir does on those of the rector. In most cases he will find the labour to which it calls a refreshing accompaniment to the "learned leisure" which is the popular ideal of his office, and the labour will be its own reward. His watchword may well be, in regard to the persons committed to his charge, and the means of influencing them, *De minimis curat maxime Decanus*.

THE PRIORY OF  
S. MARY, BROMFIELD,  
SALOP.

BY THE REV. S. E. BARTLEET, M.A., VICAR OF BROCKWORTH.

THE history of the Abbey of S. Peter's, told so eloquently in preceding papers in this volume, is hardly complete without some account of the cells or priories dependent on it. These were six in number, viz., Bromfield, in Salop; S. Guthlac's, Ewias Harold, and Kilpeck, in Herefordshire; Ewenny, in Glamorganshire; and Leonard Stanley, in this county.

There is not space here to describe, even briefly, the relation of these various cells to the Abbey. They may be regarded, perhaps, as colonies of S. Peter's, occupied each of them by a prior and two or more monks, holding their own property, and having, it would seem, much independence in their general administration, but subject always to the Abbey of Gloucester, and the prior of each nominated by the Abbot. They were not colonies, however, in the sense of owing their establishment to the monastery of S. Peter's, for all of them were independent foundations, and gave themselves, or were given by their founders to the Abbey some time during the twelfth century. Two of these religious houses date from very early times,—S. Guthlac's, Hereford, and S. Mary's, Bromfield. What I have been able to discover of the history of the latter I propose to relate in this paper.

The situation of Bromfield Priory is one of singular beauty, between the rivers Oney and Teme, at their confluence three miles west of Ludlow. When it was founded, or to whom it owes its foundation, is not known, but it certainly dates from Saxon or

Danish times, and was not scantily endowed at the time of the Survey in 1086. Under the head of "Quod tenet Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ," Domesday records as follows:—

"The same church holds Brumfelde, and there it is built. There are now x hides, and in demesne there are vi ox-teams, and there are xij neat herds, xv villeins, and xij boors (bordarii) with viij teams. It was worth l shillings to the canons, and Nigel the physician has xvi shillings from this manor. In this manor there were, in King Edward's time, xx hides, and xij canons, and the said canons had the whole. One of them, Spirtes by name, had alone x hides; but when he was banished from England, King Edward gave these x hides to Robert fitz Winmarc, as to a canon. But Robert gave the same land to a son-in-law of his; which thing, when the canons had shewn to the King, forthwith he ordered that the land should revert to the Church, only delaying (to enforce the order) till at the court of the then approaching Christmas he should order Robert to provide other land for his son-in-law. But the King died during those very festal days, and from that time till now the Church hath lost the land. This land Robert now holds under Earl Roger, and it is waste, and was found waste. One part with another the arable land (of the whole xx hides) is sufficient to employ liiij ox-teams."

Mr. Freeman, in his history of William Rufus, speaks of the interest which belongs to every story in which we have any one of those who are recorded in the Survey as mere names, standing forth as a living man, and playing his part in the world of living men. "However obscure the man," he says, "however small his deeds, there is always an interest in finding any part of the dry bones of Domesday clothed with flesh and blood. And the interest becomes higher when the man thus called forth out of darkness is a man of English birth." In the case before us the skeleton is at least partly clothed by the record of the Survey itself. It is very seldom that we have in Domesday so much of detail respecting the tenant of any manor as is given in the extract I have quoted concerning Bromfield. The mid-winter *Gemôt*, to which the cause concerning S. Mary's was assigned,



was commonly held at Gloucester, which would be the most convenient place for suitors from the west of England. There was, however, a special reason for the court being held at Westminster on the particular Christmas festival to which the record in Domesday refers. The abbey of S. Peter's,—the great West Minster built by Edward the Confessor,—was completed, and the King purposed to be present at its dedication at the close of 1065. He was taken ill, however, on Christmas eve, and though he struggled with the disease, and presided over the festivities for three days, he was unable to witness the hallowing of his newly-built church on Holy Innocents' Day. A week afterwards he died, and the "festal days" alluded to in Domesday passed without the setting right of the wrong done to the college of S. Mary, Bromfield.

Mr. Eyton, in his History of Shropshire, gives some particulars concerning Spirtes, the canon, who, in the time of Edward, engrossed half the emoluments of the collegiate church of which he was a member. He describes him as having been a special favourite with Harold I. and Hardicanute. No doubt he was promoted by one of these Kings to the prebend of Bromfield, and to their favour he may have owed the opportunity of appropriating ten hides of the twenty which formed the endowment of the church, while the other half was shared by the eleven other members of the college. His influence with the court enabled him to obtain other church property than these ten hides in Bromfield. It appears by the Herefordshire Domesday that he held four manors in that county under S. Guthlac, and that these, probably by his influence, were alienated from the church, and became the property of Nigel the physician. Spirtes also acquired the manor of Cotheridge, in Worcestershire, which had belonged to the church of Worcester, which manor his brother Earnwi, who was reeve under the church, had given him in order that he might have a lodging in going and returning when he paid Earnwi a visit. Cotheridge, it may be mentioned, like the manors of S. Guthlac in Herefordshire, became lost to the church, probably in the time of Spirtes, and was not recovered at his banishment, as it became the property of Richard Scrupe, or Scrob, from whom Richard's Castle, near Ludlow, derives its name.

The canon of St. Mary, Bromfield, was even more of a pluralist than the above facts exhibit him, for he held the prebend of Wistanstow, both the church and manor, as canon of S. Alkmand, Shrewsbury. This prebend was ultimately given by Earl Roger to "Nehel, a clerk, his own physician,"—the same clearly with Nigel Medicus who held the Herefordshire manors of Spirtes at the time of the Survey, and who is mentioned, in the extract given from Domesday, as having sixteen shillings from the manor of Bromfield. In the same extract it is noted that the King gave the ten hides forfeited by Spirtes on his banishment "to Robert fitz Winmarc, as to a canon." This Robert seems to be the same with one Robert the Deacon, a Norman who had settled in England before the conquest, and who was so high in favour with Edward that he was allowed to remain when other Normans were expelled by the influence of Harold and Godwin. The son-in-law to whom he gave the ten hides which the church claimed was Richard Scrob, who has been already mentioned as having acquired,—it may be in the same way,—the manor of Cotheridge. Florence of Worcester mentions "Robert the deacon, and Richard fitz Scrob, his son-in-law," as among "those whom before others the King loved."<sup>1</sup> It would seem that the former of these was advanced to a post not usually filled, we should suppose, by an ecclesiastic. In several charters<sup>2</sup> Robert fitz Winmarc is described as staller, an office, Kemble says,<sup>3</sup> equivalent to that of Master of the Horse, and even carrying with it the military duties of marshall, or commander of the household troops.

It would seem that though the King died before he could enforce the order to Robert to restore the land, its alienation was never completed. Robert fitz Winmarc, and not his son-in-law, is described as holding the ten hides at the time of the Survey, and it does not appear to have passed to Richard Scrob, or to Osborn fitz Richard, his son. Probably on the death of Robert the land was restored to the church by Roger, Earl of Shrewsbury.

<sup>1</sup> Flor. Wig. an. 1052.

<sup>2</sup> Codex. Dipl. Nos. 771, 822, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Kemble's *Saxons in England*, vol. ii., p. 108.

I have lingered over these details respecting the earliest known canons of Bromfield, because it is so very seldom that we can learn anything of any but the most prominent and important Englishmen who lived before the conquest. The story also tells us something of what the earliest foundation of S. Mary, Bromfield, was like. It was, in Saxon times, and for nearly a century after the conquest, a college of secular canons. There was, as you will have noticed in what is told of Spirtes and Robert, no strict rule observed. Certainly there were no vows of poverty. One of the canons, though in deacon's orders, is able to fill the highest civil, or even military, office about the court. The canons were allowed to marry, for one appointed by so scrupulous a king as Edward the Confessor had a son-in-law, and therefore a legitimate daughter. With the Norman rule, however, and the more distinctly Roman influence which accompanied it, came a strong movement in favour of the celibacy of the clergy, and a synod, held at Winchester in 1076, forbade the marriage of canons of collegiate churches. Probably there were other changes in the direction of stricter discipline. The secular colleges had, in their earlier days, no prior or other ostensible head; but some twenty years before the prebendaries of S. Mary submitted to the Benedictine rule, we find a prior of Bromfield, named Osbert, attesting a grant to Kenilworth priory, which must have passed between 1130 and 1135.<sup>1</sup> What was the precise nature of the change which had then been made I cannot tell, but the fact of one of the canons presiding over the house with the title of prior indicates, I am told, some change in the constitution of what had formerly been a college of secular canons.

In 1155 there was a much more distinct movement towards a stricter rule, for in that year, as is recorded in the chronicle of the Abbey, "the canons of Bromfield gave their church and themselves to the monastic rule of the church of S. Peter, Gloucester, by mediation of Gilbert, Bishop of Hereford, and by authority of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and legate of the apostolic see."<sup>2</sup> Another notice of the act in the same chronicle seems to

<sup>1</sup> *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi., p. 232, Ed. 1846.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. et Cart. S. Pet. Glouc.*, i., 19.



imply that the canons actually entered the abbey of S. Peter's, for it describes them as giving themselves *there to be made monks, (ibi monachari.)*<sup>1</sup> It is possible some of them did so, or at any rate sojourned there for awhile to be instructed in the Benedictine rule, though it will be seen in the charter of Henry II., which will be quoted presently, that four of the canons, and perhaps all of them, were careful to reserve their own rights in their several prebends before submitting their college to the Abbot of Gloucester. It may be noted that Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of Hereford, by whose mediation the canons of Bromfield gave their church and themselves to S. Peter's, had himself been Abbot of that monastery, and that it was doubtless partly by his influence that the college of S. Mary, Bromfield, in his diocese of Hereford, was transferred to the Abbey.

This change of constitution could not be made without the royal consent, for it is probable that the crown, as holding by escheat the earldom of Shrewsbury, was entitled to present to the various prebends. In a charter of *inspeximus* of Henry III., dated July 16th, 1235, various charters of Henry II. are quoted and confirmed, which note the change from a college of secular canons to a prior and monks, but which, singularly enough, do not mention, or refer to, the transference at the same time of the church and lands to the Abbey of S. Peter's. Indeed the language of the charters of Henry II. seems to contemplate the continued independence of Bromfield, or rather its subjection only to the king. The church is repeatedly called "my chapel," "the chapel of my demesne" (*mea capella, mea dominica capella*); and the various privileges are conferred, not on the Abbot of S. Peter's, but on "the Prior and monks there (at Bromfield) serving God." The first of the charters referred to must have been shortly after the adoption by the canons of the Benedictine rule. It declares that, for the salvation of his soul, and of the souls of his ancestors and heirs, he, King Henry, has given his church of S. Mary, Brumfeld, with all belonging to it, to the prior and monks there serving God, to be held of him, in pure and perpetual almoign, as a chapel of his demesne; and all the prebends which Frederick,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. et Cart. S. Pet. Glouc., i., 66.

the clerk, of Burford, and Robert Colemon, of Pantesburi, and Edricus, priest of Brumfeld, and Robert, priest of Felton, and other canons held in Bromfelde-hernesse in the time of Henry, his grandfather,—that is to say all the lands and vills of Haverford, Dodinghope, Efford, Felton, Burhhey, and Ledewich, and three prebends in Brumfeld, and three in Hatton, reserving, however, the tenure of the aforesaid canons during their lives. After their death the prebends are to return to his, the king's, chapel aforesaid, and the brethren of that place, with all liberties, quittances, free uses, and royal rights. Common rights also are prohibited in their woods, groves, moors, pastures, meadows, waters, &c. This charter, which is without date, was given at London, and is attested by Hilary, Bishop of Chichester; Reinald, Earl of Cornwall; William, Earl of Gloucester; and Humez, the Constable.<sup>1</sup> Other charters follow which give free market, and exempt the Priory from all customs, tolls, and duties of every kind,<sup>2</sup> and from suits to shire and hundred, and give privilege of soc and sac, thol and them, and infangethef.<sup>3</sup> \* Free warren and venery is also given them in their lands, in wood and plain, and it is forbidden to any, without their leave, to chase or take a haré on their lands, under a penalty of ten pounds.<sup>4</sup>

These charters, as I have noted, distinctly mark the change from a college of secular canons to a prior and brethren bound by monastic rule. The first of them, guarding the life interests of the existing prebendaries, is interesting as mentioning the names of four of their number, as well as informing us of the vills then held by the college. It will be observed that there are six of these, in addition to three prebends in Bromfield, and three in Halton, so that there were doubtless still twelve canons, and the prebend of each was endowed with its separate estate. But the charters quoted, had we no other information, would lead us to suppose that the secular college became an independent priory, instead of being subordinate to the Abbey of S. Peter at

<sup>1</sup> Hist. et Cart. S. Pet. Glouc., ii., 213.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 214. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 215. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 216.

\* The privilege thus conferred was that of civil jurisdiction, the forfeiture of stolen goods, and power to adjudicate in criminal matters within the territory of the Priory.

Gloucester. The Prior of Bromfield did indeed assert a very considerable amount of independence of secular and spiritual authority. In 1255 the jurors of the hundred of Munslow, in Salop, reported that the Prior claimed certain franchises in Bromfield;—that he had a gallows, held pleas of bloodshed, and hue and cry, assized beer, and tried local causes.<sup>1</sup> The gallows was no mere symbol of authority, for it was shown in 1292 that, in virtue of the right of infangthef, one Henry of the Chapel had been hanged in Bromfield for theft, being tried and condemned by the Prior. This independence of shire and hundred was, at least on one occasion, claimed in respect to the Bishop. Bishop Swinfield, of Hereford, was at Bromfield on 26th of April, 1290, and it is recorded that he received nothing in the name of procurations from the Prior, whose peculiar privileges exempted him from such dues. Forage for the horses of the Bishop's suite was provided *as a gift*, and his other expenses on that day, amounting to £1 19s. 3½d., "he paid himself."<sup>2</sup>

It would almost seem that once or twice in the history of the priory the subordination due to the Abbot was forgotten. Prior Elyas, for instance, instituted a suit on his own account against one Robert fitz Simon, claiming the ownership of a certain hide of land which the latter held, the issue of which was that Robert and his heirs were to pay the Prior and his successors one pound of frankincense yearly, at the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, in quittance of all claims of the said Prior and his successors.

This Prior Elyas, who is the first I find mentioned by name after Bromfield became a cell of S. Peter's, whatever may have been his rights in the suit described above, appears on another occasion to have exercised a greater amount of independence than the Abbot thought right in one who simply presided over what was but a cell to the Abbey. In 1243, just after the lax rule of Henry Foliot,—himself a former prior of Bromfield,—the Abbot of S. Peter's commenced a suit against Robert de Wudeton for thirty acres of arable land, and ten acres of wood, in Bromfield,

<sup>1</sup> *Hundred Rolls*, ii., 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Bishop Swinfield's Household Roll*, ii., p. 188.



which he alleged to have been unlawfully demised by Prior Elyas to William de Wudeton, the defendant's father. The defence was that the land was held under the heirs of Walter de Lacy, but in the end the Abbot's claim was allowed, and Robert, by order of the court, paid to the Abbot two marks in money, and a yearly rent for the land of three shillings, and conceded a right of free chase and free fishery throughout his (Robert's) lands in Wudeton, Oneyber, and Walton.<sup>1</sup> It would certainly seem that the Abbot, and the Abbot alone, had the right to give leases, and make other arrangements with the tenants of the Priory's lands. There are several of these instruments given at length in the chartulary which contain no reference to the Prior. For instance one Abbot Reginald (1263-84) concedes to Master Alan of Bromfelde, and Edith, daughter of William the plasterer, of Bromfelde, 20 acres of land, with appurtenances, in the vill of Acle (Oakley) which Hugh de Acle had given to the Abbot and the Priory, in pure and perpetual almoign. He gives also to the same Alan and his wife half a virgate of land in the vill of Bromfelde, and one assart containing an acre, in all 18 acres of land, which William the plasterer held; and other 18 acres which Roger Balle held of the Abbot and Priory in villenage, except a certain messuage which the Abbot retains for himself and his said Prior of Bromfelde. In addition he concedes to the same 15 acres of land which Richard le Duc held in villenage in the vill of Bromfelde. The whole is to be held of the Abbot and his successor, for the lives of the said Alan and Edith his wife, and one child . . . If there be no heir, the land is to revert to the Abbot after the decease of Alan and Edith. An annual rent of thirteen shillings was to be paid to the priory of Bromfelde, and for the above concession Alan gave the Abbot twelve marks of silver.<sup>2</sup>

I have given a full extract of the charter conceding land to Alan and Edith, because it shows the exclusive right of the Abbot in respect to the property of the Priory, and shows also how the greater advantage is obtained for the Abbey from a lease of land still regarded as pertaining to the Priory. The origin is thus

<sup>1</sup> Placita, Hilary Term, 27 Hen. III.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. et Cart. S. Pet. Glouc., ii., 192.

derived of that custom of letting land, and especially church land, for three lives, with a substantial fine on renewal, and an annual rent only very moderate in amount. The thirteen shillings of rent in this case formed part of the endowment of the Priory, while the Abbot received the considerable sum of twelve marks for his own use, or that of the Abbey at Gloucester.

The land to which the charter I have quoted refers was soon again in the hands of the Abbot, for within a few years it is let again, on similar terms, to Margery, daughter of Richard of the Chapel (*de Capella*), the rent to the Priory in this case being one shilling more than it had been, and the fine paid to the Abbot ten in place of twelve marks.<sup>1</sup>

There are other charters which show the Abbot acting alone in matters affecting the property of the Priory, but there is even more distinct evidence of the subordinate position of the Prior. A suit has been referred to already by which the Abbot disturbs and disallows arrangements respecting lands made by the Prior in the thirteenth century. Just three hundred years later there is a suit by the owner of Bromfield, after the dissolution of the Priory, which was argued on the same ground of the supremacy, in matters affecting property, of the Abbot, and the subordination of the Prior. Charles Foxe files a bill in the Court of Augmentations against one Robert Bent, in the year 1542. His plea describes the Priory of Bromfield as "a cell belonging and appertaining to the late Abbey and Monastery of Gloucester, now suppressed and dissolved; to the which said Priory of Bromfield the late Abbot of Gloucester, and his predecessors, have always used to present a prior, which priors were always dative and removable at the will and pleasure of the late Abbot of Gloucester, and had neither convent nor common seal which took longer effect than during such time as the said priors continued priors." The bill then complains that one Walter of Ludlow and others, by colour of a lease made by the late Prior of Bromfield, have entered into certain premises called Halton's Ballets, and Rudings, "which said lease," it is urged, "made by the late Prior of Bromfield, he being

<sup>1</sup> Hist. et Cart. S. Pet. Glouc., i., 221.

dative and removable, was clearly void and of no effect," &c. In the reply, the invalidity of any lease by the Prior is admitted, but the claim is put forward of a lease under the Abbey, sealed with the convent seal. What the decree was does not appear, but the proceedings are interesting as showing plainly the relative positions of the Abbot and the prior of a dependent cell, previous to the dissolution of the monasteries.

There are some other leases of land belonging to Bromfield recorded in the History and Chartulary of S. Peter's, but as they are similar in terms to the one to which I have already referred, I have not thought it worth while to quote them. There are two charters, however, which Lady Mary Windsor Clive has kindly allowed me to copy, which seem to deserve some notice. They record what were probably the last gifts to the Priory,—perhaps the only gifts acquired after its subordination to S. Peter's. The first of them is undated, but seems to belong to the latter half of the twelfth century. It records that Robert de Halentune (Halton) "gives to the Church of S. Mary, Bromfield, and the Prior and monks there serving God, the whole portion which he has in the moor of Walurenhale, with the land and herbage, that is to say that part which lies between the ancient foss, and the bank of the Teme." He gives also to the said Prior and monks full power of assarting in the moor aforesaid. The witnesses to this deed are Simon Gernun, Walter de Capella, Henry the knight, Pagan de Acleya, Gregory the priest, and John the clerk. The second of the charters I have mentioned is dated "the quindene of St. Michael, 1311," and describes an agreement between John Thoky, Abbot of Gloucester, and Thomas de Hourrgulhulle, then Prior of Bromfield, with Reginald, lord of Ocley and Halustone, by which homage and service, &c., due to Reginald in respect of possessions at Oakley, are surrendered in consideration of an annual payment of 4s.4d. Hugh de Ludlow, sheriff of Shropshire, Richard de Harley, Hugh de Bromfeld, John de Bromfeld, are witnesses.

Among the charters of the borough of Ludlow is one by which Abbot Henry grants to the burgesses of Ludlow "common rights in our pasture of Whitcliffe, belonging to our Priory of Bromfield, for their proper cattle, from the ditch of Jordan of



Ludford, unto the arable land of Halton; and from the woods of the said Priory unto the water called Teme, for four pounds of wax yearly at the vigil of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary at Bromfield, to light the church." The rights are reserved to certain quarries in the above pastures, and freedom from all tolls and customs in fairs and markets at Ludlow is conceded to the monks. "Master John de Hay," "Master Walter, our clerk;" "Jordan of Ludford," and others, attest this charter.

The Jordan mentioned also gives "to Lord Walter Lacy, and all the burgesses and men of Ludlow," his common pasture upon Whitcliffe, for a hundred shillings, and freedom for himself and his heirs from toll and custom in the Borough of Ludlow. Amongst those who attest this deed is "Sampson, le Prior,"—the Prior, no doubt, of Bromfield. The Abbot Henry mentioned is probably Henry Foliot, who had previously been Prior of Bromfield, and who presided over S. Peter's from 1228 to 1243. The only other Abbot Henry is Henry Blond, whose rule extended from 1205 to 1224.

There is but little more known of the history of S. Mary's, Bromfield. Almost the only other incidents recorded in the Chronicle of S. Peter's are the two or three occasions on which the votes of the Prior of S. Mary's, and some of the monks, were given at the election of an Abbot. In 1284, on the death of Abbot Reginald, the monks of S. Peter's appointed John de Worme, Prior of Bromfield, together with the Priors of Eweny, Kilpeck, and Leonard Stanley, and Thomas de Lokintone, sacristan, as a sort of committee of selection, promising to accept as Abbot whomsoever they should choose. John de Gamages, Prior of S. Guthlac's, was thus elected, and in due course admitted to the Abbacy.<sup>1</sup> Another election more than two centuries later was not conducted so harmoniously. There were two candidates for rule at S. Peter's,—John Newton, D.D., Prior of S. Guthlac's, and John Huntley, cellarer at the Abbey. In Abbot Newton's Register there is a record of the votes of all the monks, and I find that Richard Wolrych, Prior of Brom-

<sup>1</sup> Hist. et Cart. S. Pet. Glouc., vol. iii., p. 24.

field, voted for Newton. There was not more unanimity at S. Mary's than at S. Peter's, for one monk of Bromfield voted against his Prior, and supported Huntley, while another did not, I suppose, answer the summons to the election, and is reported as "contumacious."<sup>1</sup>

Rather more than three years afterwards, in January, 1514-5, the office was again vacant by the death of Newton. The election of William Malverne, or Parker, was practically unanimous; but the votes are all recorded, and the names of John Huntley, Prior of Bromfield, and of two monks of that cell, are in the list of those who voted for Malverne.<sup>2</sup> The Prior of S. Mary's at this time is clearly the same with the cellarer of S. Peter's, who, at the election three years before, was a candidate for the Abbacy. Richard Wolrych, who voted as Prior of Bromfield on the earlier occasion, is entered on the list as Prior of Leonard Stanley at the election of Abbot Malverne.

It would seem from what has just been noted that the cell of S. Mary, Bromfield, was occupied by a prior and two monks. The foundation which had been sufficient, before the reign of Henry II., for twelve canons, supported shortly before the dissolution three monks only. The reason of this is partly apparent from what has been said of the nature of the leases given by the Abbot. The rents paid to the Priory remained, probably, pretty uniform, and did not increase as the value of money diminished. Larger payments, indeed, were made by the tenants, but these took the form of substantial fines to the Abbot on each renewal of lease, and not of an addition to the rent paid to the Priory.

There has been but little to tell of Bromfield during the time it was a cell of S. Peter's, and yet its history could not have been wholly uneventful. There must have been much which it would be interesting to know, if only some chronicler had recorded it, of a religious house situate less than three miles from the famous castle of Ludlow,—“the Palace of Princes,” as its British name describes it,—and whose property extended

<sup>1</sup> Hist. et Cart. S. Pet. Glouc., iii., p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

almost to its walls. The armies of Henry the First and Stephen besieged the castle. It played an important part in the Barons' Wars, and in the Wars of the Roses. It was the residence of the young princes whom Richard III. removed to the still more famous fortress at London, where they were soon to find a bloody grave. It was at Ludlow that Arthur, son of Henry VII., kept splendid court after his marriage with Katharine of Arragon, until his death in 1502. The little Priory could have had no direct connection with war waged beneath the castle walls, or within them; but many of the recorded events connected with successive sieges took place upon its lands, and residents at the castle could not ride for half an hour towards Shrewsbury without passing its gateway. No monastic seclusion could withhold men living within sight of the castle keep from interest in the great events with which Ludlow is associated; and, I think, the events could hardly have happened without occasioning something of incident to the occupants of the little cell of S. Peter's, which stood less than three miles up the stream which flows by Ludlow, and whose lands extended to within a bow-shot of the castle walls.

There is just one notice of Bromfield which connects it with an event, not merely of national, but of European interest. In the year 1187, Christendom was startled by the news that Jerusalem was once more in the hands of the Infidel, and that noble enthusiasm was aroused which prompted men to sacrifice everything to win the Holy City from the followers of the False Prophet. The third Crusade, as this one was called, excited more earnest attention in England than any other. The king, Henry II., had meant to take a personal part in it, and his son Richard, shortly after his father's death, was its most prominent leader. Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, was among the most enthusiastic of its supporters, and he made a tour in Wales, in company with Giraldus Cambrensis, and Ranulph de Glanville, to enlist recruits for the crusading army. The chronicler, Giraldus, describes the fervour which was aroused everywhere, even in remote Welsh villages, by the Archbishop's mission, and he mentions that on their return they travelled from Wenlock to



Ludlow and Hereford, "by the little cell of Bromfield."<sup>1</sup> Nothing is told of any interview with the Prior and monks, but the cavalcade could hardly pass without some stirring speech from so earnest a missionary of the Cross as Baldwin, though he is described as a man of few words,—*"sermone parvus," "tardus ad loquendum."* We are at least told something of the procession which passed along the road to Ludlow by the Priory gate, led by the banner of S. Thomas of Canterbury, the Archbishop following, with his crosier in his hand, but clad in armour, as prepared for personal combat with the Infidel, with the white cross, which marked the English crusader, on his breast, and an array following him of knights and esquires, and yeomen and churls, whom his own enthusiasm had aroused. We can well imagine how the brethren at S. Mary's would listen to some palmer from the Holy Land, or some returned soldier of the Cross, as their little cell afforded him hospitality on his journey home, while he told how the Archbishop was conspicuous above all others on the battle-field,—*"inter cæteros et præ cæteris,"*—as, clad in knightly armour, he led his three hundred horsemen and his two hundred foot against the hosts of Saladin. We can well imagine how the monks would value the blessing they had doubtless craved as he passed their Priory, when they heard how the hero Archbishop had died at Acre, not of wounds received in mortal warfare, but, as it is recorded, because the soldiers with whom he served were not moved by the influences which inspired himself,—because the sins and vices, which in ancient and modern times have too often defiled the camp, were not absent from that army whose symbol was the Cross of Christ, and whose object was to preserve from desecration the land which Christ's feet had trod, and His life had hallowed.

The various manors of the College of S. Mary, Bromfield, are mentioned in the charters which have been quoted of Henry II. One further benefaction has been noted in the latter half of the twelfth century, and this was probably the last addition to the property of the house. The value of the property at the *Taxation of Pope Nicholas*, in 1291, is thus described:—

<sup>1</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, Liber. iii., cap. 13.

Eight carucates held by the Prior, of which each is worth 10s. ... ..	£	s.	d.
Ten loads of hay, the value of each ls. 6d. per annum ... ..	4	0	0
Assized rents and tallage of naifs per annum ...	0	15	0
Pleas, perquisites, labour dues, and fines ...	22	13	4
Pannage of swine ... ..	3	0	0
Pannage of swine ... ..	0	2	0
Three mills yield per annum ... ..	3	0	0
	<hr/>		
	33	10	4

There is also a note that the Prior received £1 13s. 4d. from Northone in Wilts.

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, taken 1534-5, the income of the Priory is described in greater detail. It will be seen that the manors mentioned in charters of the twelfth century were most of them still the property of S. Mary's in the sixteenth. The procurations refused to Bishop Swinfield are entered as due to his successor, and a similar liability is admitted to the Arch-deacon of Salop.

The return is as follows:—

Rents of free and customary tenants in Bromfelde	£	s.	d.
Burwey, Chapell, and Cleyfelton ... ..	10	18	8
Whitebach ... ..	5	4	8
Ryefelton ... ..	6	13	4
Dodingthorpe ... ..	9	19	4
Leddwich ... ..	3	3	8
N.B.—Additional ... ..	4	0	0
	10	18	4
	<hr/>		
Rents in parish of Bromfeld:—	50	18	0
Rent of land in Overtonfeld, in parish of Richard's Castle ... ..	0	2	0
Tithes of Hawkesford and Dodingthorpe ...	2	0	0
Do. of Prior's Halton and Ludford ...	2	13	4
Do. Ledewich, Seete, and Stevington ...	3	10	0
Do. S. Mary's Halton ... ..	2	1	0
Do. Burwey, Chapell, Whitbache, and Ryefelton	4	0	0
Do. Cleyfelton, Assheforde, Bromfelde, and Coke-ridge ... ..	6	13	4
Portion of tithe in the parish of Stokesay ...	0	8	4
Arable land, meadow, and pasture, in the occupation of the Prior, estimated at ...	3	13	4
Rent of water mill a Bromfeld, and fishery ...	2	3	4
Perquisites of court ... ..	0	16	8
	<hr/>		
	78	19	4

Inde.	£	s.	d.
Fee of Thomas Cornewall, Knight, steward ...	2	0	0
Fee of Richard Selmon, steward of the Court of Bromfelde ... ..	0	13	4
Fee of John Aylesbury, auditor ... ..	1	6	8
Fee of Peter Amyas, bailif ... ..	1	6	8
Payment to Prior of Wenlok ... ..	1	0	0
Annual payment to perpetual vicar of Bromfelde, for his table ... ..	2	13	4
Alms distributed to the poor at the Lord's Supper, at Easter ... ..	0	3	4
Procurations paid to Bp. of Hereford ... ..	1	11	1
Do. to Archdeacon of Salop ... ..	0	6	8
	11	1	1
Leaving a clear value of ... ..	67	18	3

There is also mentioned, but the deduction does not seem to have been allowed, a payment of £2 to the Chaplain ministering in the Chapel of Ludford, and a similar amount to the Chaplain of Hawforde and Dodingthorpe.

There is little more to tell of the Priory. I do not find anywhere recorded a complete list of its Priors, but there is a MS.<sup>2</sup> in the British Museum which has preserved, from Willis' own notes to a copy of his "Mitred Abbeyes," the names of the last three who bore rule before the dissolution in 1538; and names of some of the earlier Priors may be gathered from charters and other records which I have quoted. The following is a list as complete as I am able to make it:—

Osbert ... ..	A.D. 1130—1135
Elyas ... ..	1203
Henry Foliot ... ..	1228
Sampson, probably between ... ..	1228 and 1243
John de Worme ... ..	1284
Thomas de Hourrgulhulle ... ..	1311
Richard Wolrych ... ..	1510
John Huntley ... ..	1514
Thomas Stanton ... ..	1519
John Stamford ... ..	1521
Thomas Sebrooke ... ..	1533

The last-named was Prior at the dissolution in 1538, and was granted a pension of £13 6s. 8d. per annum, of which he was still in receipt in 1556.

<sup>1</sup> Cole MSS., V. 26, p. 84 b.



It appears by the *Particular for Grant* to Stephen Hodnall, dated 1557, that "the site of the cell, or manor, of Bromefeld, with all its appurtenances, lying and being in Bromefeld, Netherhalton, Ledwiche, Dinchopp, Hawford, Burweye, Cleyfelton, Ryefelton, and Whitbache, was given to one Charles Foxe, gentleman, by an indenture under seal of the Court of Augmentation, dated 29th Jan., 1541-2, for a period of four score and nineteen years," at a rent, in addition to the annual rent of £24 11s. for the spiritual possessions of the cell, of £16 4s. 10d. In 1557 the fee simple of the property was obtained. The *Particular for grant* is made out to "Stephen Hodnall, one of the gromes of the quenes majestie privey chambre," but the grant was in fact to Charles Foxe, the lessee. The price paid was 27 years purchase of the rent of £16 4s. 10d., or £438 10s. 6d., to which the *Particular* says, "adde thereto 6l. for thadvowson of the vycareedge of Bromefeld, rated at one yeres purchase, and so thole ys 444l. 10s. 6d." There is a memorandum that "the leade and bells are to be excepted." The latter, however, seem afterwards to have been acquired. The said Charles Foxe, by his will, dated 12th October, 1590, recites how he had begun the foundation of four almshouses upon a parcel of ground near the Chapel of S. Leonard, in Corve Street, Ludlow, and directs that if he die before they are finished, his executors shall complete them, and provide for Divine Service in the said chapel; and he bequeaths "two bells, then in the sollar<sup>1</sup> of Bromfield, to be hanged in the steeple of S. Leonard's chapel, to ring into Divine Service, and there to remain for evermore." The wish these last words express was not fulfilled. In 1773 the corporation of Ludlow, to whom the trust had been transferred by Foxe's heirs two years earlier, "unroofed the Chapel of S. Leonard, and sold the timbers, tiles, and other materials taken therefrom." In 1783 they "ordered the massy walls to be taken down, and the stones to be used in making a bridge," and two years later they "granted a lease of the site of the chapel and chapel-yard to one of their own body, who converted the same to garden and building purposes." Some thirty years after this proceedings

<sup>1</sup> The garret, or upper story.

were taken against the Corporation, and the Master of the Rolls ordered them to pay £1,220 for the purpose of re-building the chapel they had destroyed; but I imagine the "two bells in the sollar of Bromfield," which, no doubt, were two bells of the old Priory, were not recovered.

It is likely that the buildings of the monastery were taken down soon after their acquisition by the purchaser mentioned above. The materials were probably used in the construction of a house adjoining Bromfield Church, which the Foxes occupied till it was destroyed by fire, and of which the ruins still exist. A Norman arch in the east wall of the chancel of the present church shows where the second chancel used by the monks once stood, but there is not any other indication of its position. Even the foundations, as I am informed, have been removed. The manors held by S. Mary's still retain their old names, in slightly altered form, and "Lady's Halton," and "Prior's Halton," tell of their former ownership. Of the Priory itself nothing remains except the old gateway leading to its void site. But this may be for us something more than a picturesque fragment of an ancient building which gives added beauty to beautiful scenery. It marks a spot associated with the strongest religious movements under Danish and Saxon, and Norman and Plantagenet kings,—associated also with the mighty upheaval under the line of Tudor, which swept away what, in that age at least, had become useless or hurtful. The Priory of S. Mary, Bromfield, cannot claim to have been famous in history, but it is associated with some famous names, and a half glimpse of history, conveyed in four words of an old chronicle, associates it for a moment with the Crusader Archbishop who died at Acre, and with the movement,—wild and foolish, it may be, but, I think, noble and generous in its first impulse,—to save from desecration that which was to men more than in mere name the Holy Land,—the movement which Baldwin of Canterbury set himself to further at home, and died in supporting abroad.

## A BOY BISHOP.

BY J. J. POWELL, Q.C.

ON S. Nicholas Day (Dec. 6), A.D. 1558, there was great excitement amongst the chorister boys assembled in this, (which was formerly the Abbey Church, but had recently become) the Cathedral Church of the new diocese of Gloucester.

The progress of the Reformation had been suspended by the death of Edward VI., and the Roman ritual and customs had been resumed under his sister and successor, Queen Mary. On this day, therefore, in accordance with an ancient custom of the Roman Church, the chorister boys assembled, probably in this room,<sup>1</sup> to elect from their number a bishop, *Episcopus Puerorum*, who, until the close of Innocents' Day following, *i.e.*, for twenty-one days, was to bear the name and maintain the state of a Bishop; to wear a mitre on his head, and carry a crozier in his hand, and to be robed in vestments even richer than those worn on great occasions by the real Bishop. We are not told what the form of election was, but one qualification required for the office was that the boy selected should be "handsomely and and elegantly shaped." The boy chosen on this occasion was named John Stubs, and thereupon, after service in the Cathedral, he formally "visited" his diocese every day until Innocents' Day, when he preached a sermon from the pulpit here, and terminated his episcopacy by pronouncing his episcopal benediction. The sermon preached on this occasion has been preserved. It is entitled "Sermon of the child Bishop, pronounced by John Stubs, Querester, on Childermas day, at Gloucester, 1558," and having been edited by Dr. Rimbault was, together with another sermon pronounced by a boy-bishop in old S. Paul's cathedral in the time of Henry VIII., published some years ago by the Camden Society. These two sermons are the only sermons of the kind

<sup>1</sup> The Chapter House.



that have been preserved, and I have thought a brief notice of the circumstances under which they were preached, especially the one preached in this cathedral, might interest you, since it was probably the last sermon of the kind preached in England.

The custom of electing a boy-bishop on S. Nicholas' Day formerly prevailed in Roman Catholic countries. It continued in England until the reign of Elizabeth, and in some parts of Europe until the end of the last century. It was suppressed for a time in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII., but was revived by Bishop Bonner on the accession of Queen Mary; for we read that in 1555 "the chylde bysshope of Paule's church, with his company were admitted into the Queen's privy chamber at her manor of Saynt James in the ffields where he sang before her on S. Nicholas' Day and Innocents' Day."

As soon as they had elected their bishop, the other choristers assumed the style of prebendary, and as such yielded canonical obedience to him during his period of office, and whatever services the real Bishop with the dean and chapter were accustomed to perform (some writers say, not even excepting the Mass) were performed by the boy-bishop and his attendants. During the interval between S. Nicholas' Day and Innocents' Day the boy, in full canonicals, made formal processions of the diocese, singing and chanting as they went along, and "visiting" the several religious establishments, the civic authorities, and the nobility and gentry, from whom they received gifts, and although on the occasion of which I speak the Priory of Llanthony with the houses of the White and Grey and Black Friars at Gloucester had been dissolved and had passed into lay hands, I doubt not the possessors of them remembered the fate of Bishop Hooper, and were anxious to prove their orthodoxy by the liberality of their contributions. At all events the boys seem to have had a good time of it. Hall, the Protestant Bishop of Chester, writing of this festival some time after it was abolished says, "What merry work it was in the days of our holy fathers that upon S. Nicholas, S. Katherine, S. Clement, and Holy Innocents' Day, children were wont to be arrayed in chimera, rochets, surplices, to counterfeit bishops and priests, and to be led, with songs and dances from house to

house, blessing the people, who stood grinning in the way to expect that ridiculous benediction; yea, that boys in that holy sport were wont to sing masses, and to climb into the pulpit to preach (no doubt learnedly and edifying!) to the simple auditory."

To him, as it probably does to us, all this seemed like profane mimicry of religious ceremonials, but it is certain that it was once regarded as seriously as the performance of religious plays or "mysteries," and as the Ober-Ammergau play is at the present time. Even so enlightened a person as Dean Colet, though he publicly censured what he termed the "superstitions and fopperies" of the popery of that day, countenanced the annual election of boy-bishops, and in the statutes which he framed for St. Paul's school provided that "all the children shall every Childermas day come to Paull's church and here the childe bishoppe's sermon."

These visitations over, the boy-bishop and his mimic clergy on the eve of Innocents' Day went in solemn procession to the altars of the Holy Trinity and All Saints in the cathedral wearing copes and bearing lighted tapers, chanting and singing psalms while the boy-bishop incensed the altars and images. They then formed a procession and walked into the choir from the west door. Here the boy-bishop took his seat, no doubt on the Bishop's throne, while the rest of the children ranged themselves on each side of the upper part of the choir, the canons bearing the incense and the book, and the minor canons the tapers, according to the ancient rubric. We are told that from that time until the end of the next day procession, none of the real clergy, whatever might be their rank, were allowed to occupy the higher seats.

All being seated, the boy-bishop read the service, and having chaunted and the others responded, he dismissed them with his benediction.

It must not be supposed, whatever might be the fact, that there was any appearance of parody or burlesque in these performances in the cathedral. No doubt the boys were well drilled in their parts by the abbey priests, and we are told that the service was performed with much solemnity, it being provided

that no man whatsoever, under pain of anathema, should interrupt or press on the children at the procession or in any other part of the service. On this evening, being the eve of Innocents' Day, the boys had a great supper. The bill of fare of one of these suppers has been preserved. It consisted of veal and mutton, ducks, chickens and sausages, woodcocks, field-fares, and other small birds, wine, spices (or groceries), warden-pears, honey, ale, and bread, including a portion of "Lord's bread," no doubt for the boy-bishop. The cost, including sixpence for the cook, was fifteen shillings and sixpence, but it must be remembered that a penny then would purchase as much as a shilling at the present time.

On the next and last day, Innocents' Day, the services in the cathedral were resumed and the boy-bishop ascended the pulpit and preached a sermon.

The one preached on this occasion is preserved amongst the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum and is that published by the Camden Society. I am sorry to say it would take, at least, half-an-hour to read it to you, so that all I can do is to assure you, having read it myself, that it was a very good sermon. The text was the appropriate one from 18 chap. Matthew, 6th verse—"Except yow will be convertyd and made lyke unto lytell childern yow shall not entre in to the kyndom of Heaven." We gather from the sermon that "a little child" was placed in the midst of the boys, and that he was thus spoken of: "Here is a company afore me of childer, seemly in sight most like unto innocentes, specially one litill one in the mydes, which puts me in mynd of the child which Jesus callyd unto him and set in the myd of his disciples when they were at bate who should be chief among them: The child had prayse of Jesus' own mouth for his meke behaviour and nurture . . . . Such a one this litill one in the mydes here appereth to be that he might be thought worthy to be sett in the mydes for an example unto you of pure childhode, mekeness, and innocency. Loke in his face and yow would think that butter would not melt in his mouth; but, as smothe as he lokes, I will not wish yow to follow him, if



yow know as much as I do. Well! well! all is not gold that shynes, nor all are not innocentes that beare the face of childer."

This is by no means the best or most amusing passage in the sermon. It was, of course, written for the boy, and the MS. is subscribed "*Deo Gratias. Ex Ric. Ramsey,*" who it seems occupied the sixth prebendal stall in this cathedral, and was rector of Quennington in this county. I am sorry that I cannot tell you what became of "Bishop Stubs," but I may be permitted to hope, poor boy! that ultimately the light of the Reformation reached him, and whether it did or not, that having preached to others he himself was not "a castaway."

S. Nicholas of Myra, the patron Saint of boys and young maidens, is supposed to have lived about the fifth century. "In the Greek Church he ranks next to the great Fathers." In 560 the Emperor Justinian dedicated a church to him in Constantinople and since the tenth century he has been honoured in the West. "In Russia, Greece and throughout Catholic Europe children are still taught to reverence S. Nicholas and to consider themselves under his care."

Amongst the many miracles attributed to this Saint, the following miracle probably led to his becoming the patron saint of children:—

"As he was travelling through his diocese to visit his people, he lodged in the house of a certain host who was a son of Satan. This man in the scarcity of provisions, was accustomed to steal little children, whom he murdered and served up their limbs as meat to his guests. On the arrival of the bishop and his retinue, he had the audacity to serve up the dismembered limbs of those unhappy children before the man of God, who had no sooner cast his eyes on them than he was aware of the fraud. He reproached the host with his abominable crime, and going to the tub where their remains were salted down, he made over them the sign of the cross and they rose up whole and well."

For these and further particulars of this popular Saint, see Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, 3rd Ed., Vol. II., 450.

The following extract from *The Office of the Mayor of Bristol* which may be found in Vol. XL, of The Early English Text Society's works under the head of *English Guilds*, has been communicated by Mr. Cecil Davis:—

Item, on Seynt Nicholas Eve, yn semblable wyse, the Maire, and Shiref, and their brethern to walke to Seynt Nicholas churche, there to hire theire eve-song: and on the morowe to hire theire masse, and offere, and hire the bishop's sermon, and have his blissyng; and after dyner, the seide Maire, Shiref, and their brethern, to assemble at the maires counter, there waytyng the Bishoppes commyng; pleyeng the meane whiles at Dyce, the towne clerke to fynde theym Dyce, and to have 1*d.* of every Raphill; and when the Bishope

is come thedir, his chapell there to synge, and the bishope to geve them his blissyng, and then he and all his chapell to be served there with brede and wyne. And so departe the Maire, Shiref and theire brethern, to hire the bishopes eve-songe at Seynt Nicholas chirch forseid.

This *Office* is also printed in the Camden Society's New Series, Vol. V., 1872.

For further particulars of the Boy-Bishop see Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, London, 1838 pp. 346-8. Hone's *Ancient Mysteries*, pp. 195-9. Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I., pp. 328-336. Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, Vol. III., part 2, p. 215, *Archæologia* Vol. IX., p. 43, &c. E.D.

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## ANCIENT GLASS PAINTINGS IN THE CATHEDRAL

BY THOMAS GAMBIER PARRY, M.A., D.L.

It is much to be regretted that in the histories of the religious establishments of the middle ages little or nothing is recorded of what must have been among their chiefest ornaments, their coloured and stained windows. Those windows, by the subjects they portrayed, by their inscriptions, their symbols, and their heraldry, contributed much to history; but, with rare exception, the history of the windows themselves is a hiatus in archæology.

Such is lamentably the case with the windows of the old Abbey of Gloucester, about which the early history compiled by its first mitred Abbot, Frocester, gives account of other arts, and enumerates the detail of comparatively trivial works in them, but entirely omits all mention of the windows. His history closes at the end of the 14th century. The choir of the Abbey must have been radiant throughout with coloured and figured glass of the finest kind. The Abbey was so rich as to command the best of everything. After his time great additions were made to these buildings and filled with glass, both English and foreign, but not a syllable of any account of them remains. There is no art nor branch of history in this country about which so little is recorded as that of the making and use of glass. Until we approach the 15th century all that is known is gathered from incidental notices of local history. Many vessels of Roman glass have been found, and others in still greater abundance, in Anglo-Saxon tombs; and these last by certain peculiarities of form and quality are regarded as of English production. The remains of a Roman glass-house still exist at Buckhold, in Wiltshire, a Roman station; but the first authentic account of glass-making in England is in the well-known story of the invitation from the Bishop of York and Abbot of Wearmouth at the latter end of



the 7th century, and from the Abbot of Jarrow in the middle of the 8th century, to glass-makers in France to come over and establish their industry in those places. In many parts of England we hear of "glaziers," a term which embraced both dealers in and painters of glass; and as it is entirely unnoticed who their glass was produced by, or where they got it, it is not unfair to surmise that that term embraced also, at least in many cases, the makers of the glass. Of glass-painting we know that it was first, and for centuries, employed for religious establishments. As in the case of all other fine arts, its first home and cultivation must have been within the quiet retreats of monasteries of gradually Christianising Europe, where all the traditions and technicalities of the arts were centred, coming westward from Byzantium. The earliest account existing of the method of painting glass is in the MS. of the Greek monk, Theophilus, of the 11th century. In succeeding centuries we are still left in ignorance about the makers of glass. As it came more generally into use, it was probably made by private persons, and on too small a scale to be classed with the industries peculiar to any place. It seems probable that those mediæval glass makers were associated with iron smelters, for in a rough way they required much the same materials and appliances for their work in iron, lead, and glass; and of these we have indications in Gloucester, especially in and about Longsmith Street, famous in old days for its iron forges, and where it is still common in making deep excavations to come upon vitreous slag, like the refuse of glass furnaces, in common with cinders and the refuse of iron work. And further, among the old Trade Companies of Gloucester, one is described as that of smiths and hammer-men, ironmongers, cutlers, saddlers, and glaziers. It is difficult to believe that an industrial art, so early established in the north of England as the 7th and 8th centuries, and of great and growing demand through the middle ages, could have died out, or that the numerous and wealthy religious establishments could have risked the supply of glass from anywhere than at home.<sup>1</sup> Still, it is not till the time

<sup>1</sup>In an original deed in the Cathedral Library, dated 15 August, 1443, mention is made of "Thomas the Glasesmyth" of Gloucester. E.D.

of Charles I. that the first glass-house is recorded to have been built in England, and that was in the Forest of Dean, at Lydney. The foundation of it still marks the spot. The reference to glass as a special industry in Gloucester and the name of "Glass-house Yard" as a site in this city, and the glass-houses shown in the earliest engraved view by Buck, in 1734, or the bird's-eye plan of the city in Atkyns' history, 1712, were all subsequent to that date.

I regret that the limited time allowed for this paper prevents me from telling you all that is known of the art and the artists of glass-painting through the middle ages in England, but sufficient is known to conclude that both the glass and the painters employed were English and foreign, as was the case with the architects, and members of the religious communities themselves, paying and receiving visits from the foreign members of their Order. But for the dates and schools of most of the works of Gothic times we must trust to our own knowledge of styles and technicalities to form any opinion. In our own Cathedral there are some noble relics, and the scraps that still remain in every corner of it, and even the cloisters, testify to the universal prevalence of this art throughout these buildings. I feel bound to mention here, with great respect, the good service rendered to this art by Mr. Waller, the architect, in rescuing numerous relics of old glass, every scrap of which has been subsequently worked up into the windows by modern glass painters, invariably in the same places to which those pieces belonged—*i.e.*, where those places were known—in many parts of the Cathedral, but pre-eminently in the third and fifth windows in the north aisle of the nave, which are fully half of ancient glass, the panels in the tracery being all old, and in the other parts the old glass being worked up with the new very well by Mr. Powell, of Messrs. Hardman's establishment at Birmingham. The two most important relics we possess are the east windows of the choir and Lady Chapel. The smaller remnants in the heads and tracery of the other windows are too numerous to mention here. The great east window of the choir is the earliest of them. The stonework of the east window must have progressed upward

with the rest of that work, as every line of that network is consummated in the groined roof. It is all one—there could have been no break in it. The character of the glass in that great window accords with that date. The choir was enlarged and lined with a web of Gothic tracery by Adam de Stanton, Abbot from 1337 to 1351, but probably completed by his art-loving successor Horton, the contributor of numerous beautiful and costly things to the Treasury. Mr. Winstone, certainly the first authority on the subject, assigns from 1347 to 1350 as the date of it. The information gained from its heraldry confirms the date, and the character of the figures and quality of the glass authorise the opinion that it is all of English work. But of this window I need say no more, for Mr. Winstone has entirely exhausted the subject in a paper written for the Archæological Institute in 1863. In general effect it is magnificent, but in detail it is a wreck. Happily, the general contours of the figures have been preserved, but their limbs and draperies are in many cases a mere medley of heterogeneous scraps collected from the ruin of the figures in the clerestory; and with its upmost panel filled with a little figure rescued from the wreck of the Lady Chapel, unless it be the central figure of the window removed by Bishop Fowler, of which an account is given below. The preservation of this window through the troublous times of the siege of Gloucester is probably rightly assigned to the care of Governor Massey and Alderman Pury the younger, an influential Parliamentarian, a man of literature and cultivated tastes, who, with his friend Sir Matthew Hale, established the library in this Chapter House. Painful as the story of destruction would be, the loss of what is deplorable. The saddest parts of history are often those of its keenest interest. There was but one other window of which the ancient glass remained complete to modern times, and of that not one scrap remains *in situ*. The subject of that window was the Blessed Trinity. It had escaped the ravages of time and revolutions, but it so scandalised Prebendary (afterwards Bishop) Fowler that he obtained an order from the Chapter for its removal, and in the account he has given of his proceedings (which have a touch of the comic about them, of this grave



dignitary scrambling up ladders and on hands and knees over the roof of the nave to reach that object of his animosity) he states plainly that he smashed it with his own hands, June 23rd, A.D., 1679.

There was a burst of enthusiasm in religious art in the 14th century; and a good illustration of it is given in the notice of Abbot Wygmore's life in Frocester's Chronicle. John Wygmore was Abbot from 1329 to 1337. He immediately preceded the Abbot under whose direction the east window was erected and glazed. There must have been great artistic activity among the inmates of the Abbey in his time; and the school of art he had formed and the company of workmen he had about him quite account for the works so marvellously completed in architecture and glass-painting during the abbacy of his successors. Abbot Wygmore is described as "well skilled in mechanics and other arts, in which he very often worked himself; and he had also other artificers excelling in various arts, and in mechanical works and in embroidery." That is to say, he was a practical architect, the head and chief among arts. Under his auspices, or more probably by him, the Perpendicular style was invented, Edward the Second's monument was designed and completed, the south transept finished, the choir screen, several chapels and other works were built and adorned. He was, in short, an artist all over, and as glass-painting was then, after architecture, the most extensive of all the arts employed in mediæval churches, it is inevitable to infer that glass-painters were members of that company which Abbot Frocester describes as "artificers excelling in various arts." I venture to attribute the execution, if not the design also, of the figure of Edward II. to an Italian in that company. Two large paintings are recorded to have been executed in his time for the abbot's chapel and the high altar, and it is well known that painters of such works, and the artists who polychromed the roofs and screens of churches, and figure-painted the walls in distemper all over the country, were the same as those who made the designs for "glaziers," the so-called "glaziers" who painted them upon the glass. These men commonly travelled about in companies, as the masons did. Illumin-

ators of MSS. and calligraphists were also roving geniuses; but as it is hardly necessary to add, all these arts were equally practised by the inmates of religious houses,—as by such men as Prior Goldstone, architect, at Canterbury, Allan de Walsingham, who was just such another at Ely as Wygmore was at Gloucester, and William Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, and other such in England at this period.

Much painted glass was imported from Germany and France during the 14th century; but such was not the case from inability of such companies of artists and artificers as the priors and abbots all over England had collected around them, but because of the craze for glass-painting which existed in England at that time, and made the demand too great for the home supply. Of all the buildings of this great Abbey the Lady Chapel must have been the gem of greatest beauty, worthy of the motto employed elsewhere, "*ut rosa flos florum, sic domus ista domorum*;" with its walls and windows rich with sculpture and colours, and its altar reredos more beautiful than all. The glass in this Lady Chapel is of a character altogether different from that of the Choir. The stonework of the windows consists of a repetition of similar panels, common to the architecture of the 15th and following century. Most of the windows still retain in the heads of those panels the upper parts of canopies in painted glass, which suggested their treatment to have been of single figures of saints, martyrs, and leading characters of Church and Sacred History. These have been all destroyed. Some idea may be formed of the injuries this Cathedral has received within a short time ago when I mention that I have learnt from a man still living who remembered as a boy to have seen the floor of the eastern part of this lovely chapel strewn with glass and stones, and that I also learnt many years ago from a man, now no more, that the boys of the College School used to amuse themselves by smashing with stones the northern windows which bounded their play-ground. Another anecdote, though of a different character, affecting the loss of old glass, has been afforded to me from the acts of the Chapter, in which is entered "Whereas a quantity of painted glass has been lately stolen from the east

window of the Cathedral; ordered that a reward of 50 guineas be offered for the discovery and conviction of the offenders. June, 1798."

The east window of the Lady Chapel is still very interesting, although glazed throughout with mere relics of ruin. By careful study it is possible to picture to one's mind what it may have been. As we now see it, it is a rich kaleidoscope of heterogeneous pieces, scarcely a scrap of which remains in its original place except the glass in the tre-foil heads of the panels. The character of these many pieces is so distinct that it is easy to sort those which originally belonged to this window from others in the Choir and elsewhere. The stone framework of the east window consists of three rows of panels in the body of the window, and of a few of various sizes in the head. If we take the uppermost row by way of illustration, we shall see that the glass in the heads of those panels clearly indicates the character of the subjects beneath them, and, indeed, the scheme of the entire window, namely, an alternation of open-air subjects and single figures, the former being clearly shown by the sky with tops of towers rising against it, and the upper parts of spears and standards and processional crosses carried by the figures in the subjects of the panels below. Many of the subjects are also shown by pieces of glass scattered about the window, such as the body of our Lord with hands bound in front, either for the subject of the *Ecce Homo* or the flagellation; and there is the figure of Christ with His right hand opening His dress and showing the spear wound in His side. There are many beautiful female heads, tenderly drawn and full of expression; a fine figure of a bishop, and a group of heads of monks, forming the crowded background of some subject. Scarcely one, if any, of these are in their original positions. One of special interest is what I suppose to have been the principal figure in the window, viz., that of the Blessed Virgin in glory. This figure is on the extreme right of the middle row of panels. The glass is broken and filled in with mixed fragments of all sorts; but the outline of the figure is easily traced, especially by the remains of the golden aureole of rays which originally surrounded the entire



figure even to below its feet. This figure does not belong to the panel which it remains now occupy ; it is too tall for it, and the old glass still remaining in the trefoil head of the panel has nothing to do with it, consisting as it does of an open blue sky, with the tops of towers and spears rising against it. No panel in the window, except one, could conveniently hold that figure, with its golden aureole complete, and that is the long central panel in the head of the window,—a place which the glorified figure of the Blessed Virgin might be expected to have occupied in this principal window of her chapel. The glass of this window was foreign. The painting is very refined, and from the great expression conveyed by the figures it must have been the work of real artists. If we remember the principal schools of this art on the neighbouring continent from which much glass was at that date imported, I think that, taking the prevalent style of French art in glass at Rouen or Rheims, we might incline to attribute it to that origin ; but the detail of all accessories are more of the advanced Flemish than the French school. Neither should we trace it to the Nuremberg and North German school, where the Albert Durer type prevailed ; but whether we look at the detail of ornament, the draperies, or the architectural accessories, I think we should be right in tracing that window to Flanders and the school of Ghent or Bruges ; and from one or other of those towns I believe it to have come.

These two east windows, ruins though they be, are in their way invaluable, and like the lesser remains elsewhere, should not be touched. But the subject that is forced on our attention is as to what should be done with those that ruin has left empty ? I can shortly only answer that question thus : Every kind and style of art has a genius special to itself ; and as each is the embodiment of the prevailing sentiment or talent of its time, the effect, wherever works of contemporaneous arts are combined, is harmonious and beautiful, from the unity of spirit which pervades them. It does not require artistic knowledge, but it *does* require a refined sense to perceive this. I believe it to be true that a congeniality of spirit does exist in all those fine arts which have sprung up side by side ; and that a sympathy of relationship

between them is the cause of an indescribable charm and beauty, which the introduction of any foreign form or element would mar. It follows, therefore, that if glass perfect in congenial style and work could be found for these empty frames of mediæval stonework, the result would be more satisfactory than if they were filled with designs in the style of Michael Angelo, Hogarth, Sir Joshua Reynolds, or a modern portrait painter. The whole question turns on the propriety or otherwise of reviving a style of former days; and to this I think that literary criticism has not been always just in a sweeping condemnation of it as mere servile mimicry. Alas! it may be, and in some cases it has been so; but it is by no means necessarily so. It is quite possible, and indeed not uncommon, for an artist to be so touched by the specialities of some particular style, and his sympathies so engaged by the harmony of its various arts, as to become thoroughly imbued with its spirit, and to make it all his own. If the literary critic could feel how irresistible the impulse of artistic genius could be, he would throw up his trade and take to the pencil or the palette, and learn by experience the sacredness of art and the tenderness of an artist's sympathies; and then he would possibly allow that an artist may make any style his own, according to the bent or purpose of his mind; and dismissing, of course, all idea of weak composition or bad drawing, which were merely the misfortunes of early and ill-instructed times, such a man could work without reference to anything but his own spontaneous impulse, without cramp or hindrance, free as air and happy in the style of his adoption, whether sacred or secular, classical, mediæval, or modern, and he would translate into that the poetry of his soul.

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## NOTES ON THE OLD GLASS IN THE CATHEDRAL.

By F. S. WALLER.

Remains of old glass are still to be found in various parts of the Cathedral from which a fairly good judgment may be arrived at as to the style, character, and quantity of painted glass existing in the windows, say, towards the end of the 15th century.

## THE NAVE.

In the North Clerestory windows alone can any old glass be discovered. The windows are of three lights and many of them have considerable portions of ornamental borders with quarry glazing and some medallions. It is probable that all these windows were originally filled with glass of this kind which is similar in general design to that in the upper tiers of the Clerestory windows in the Choir.

## NORTH AISLE OF NAVE.

In the third and fifth windows (counting from the west end), can be seen much old glass, the remains of two windows which were restored a few years ago with great care by Hardman of Birmingham. The other windows in this Aisle, which doubtless were originally filled with glass of a similar kind, had also remains of old glass in them, before the existing new painted glass windows were introduced; and the effect of the whole aisle in the 15th century may be well judged of from the beauty of the windows Nos. 3 and 5 above alluded to.

## THE CHOIR.

The great East Window contains 2000 square feet of glass, and weighs, including lead work, about 35 cwt. Excepting that the leadwork has been most carefully restored under the supervision of Mr. Winston, the whole of this window remains exactly as it was in 1862, prior to the restoration of the stonework of the window (then in a dangerous condition). Mr. Winston, a man



in advance of his time, considered that any attempt at restoration would be a mistake, and fortunately, the glass, by his excellent advice, was cleaned and releaded only.<sup>1</sup>

The Clerestory windows on the north side of the Choir are restorations by Clayton and Bell, and in these windows much of the old glass remains in the upper parts of the windows, and in the trefoiled heads below, where the tops of canopies only remained, but sufficient to give a clue to a probably correct restoration. Each window is of four lights divided by a transom, the lower openings of which had figures in niches with canopies, and the upper and tracery heads had ornamental borders and quarries with medallions and lozenge shapes introduced.

#### AMBULATORIES AND CHAPELS ROUND THE CHOIR.

In the upper part of most of these windows, portions of the original glazing can be found, in some very perfect, especially in the memorial window to the late Mrs. Tinling, in which all the old glass has been replaced in the position it occupied prior to the repairs of the stonework of the window. In the Triforium above, one piece of painted glass only remains, and this in the chapel immediately over the Chapel of St. Paul.

#### SOUTH TRANSEPT.

In the traceried portions of the heads of the windows in the East wall may be seen some of the richest decorated glass in the Cathedral, and perhaps the earliest. It has been simply releaded by Messrs. Hardman.

#### NORTH TRANSEPT.

The windows in the West and East walls have old glass of a kind very similar to that in the upper tiers of the windows in the Clerestory of the Choir, viz., ornamental borders with quarries and roundels. This glass also has been releaded by Clayton and Bell.

#### LADY CHAPEL.

In almost all the windows, remains of old glass can be seen. The East window is full of old painted glass, some *in situ*, and the rest taken from other parts of the Cathedral at various times,

<sup>1</sup>See Winston's paper, *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XX., 1863.

to a great extent perhaps from the Clerestory of the Choir. The general design of these windows would appear to have been similar to that of the great East window of the Choir, but the niches and canopies are of much smaller and later detail. The East window is a great puzzle, which would require much and careful study and a great knowledge of the art of glass painting to properly explain.

#### CLOISTERS.

With careful search some very nice bits of painted glass may be discovered in the windows of the North, South, and West walks of the Cloisters, sufficient to afford strong presumptive evidence that the whole of the windows were at one time so glazed. The lower tier of lights of the windows in the North walk were not glazed at all, being protected by a large stone projecting shelf to keep out the weather. (N.B. The construction of this is worth studying).

There is probably no glass of any kind in the Cathedral of an earlier date than from 1330 to 1340, that before alluded to in the South Transept being the earliest. All the other windows come under the classification of "Perpendicular" and they are of course glazed with glass of that period. It will be observed that the designs consist for the most part of single enshrined figures in the windows occupying the more important situations in the Cathedral, and of ornamental borders and quarries in other and less noticeable positions.

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## GLOUCESTER AND ITS ABBEY.

By E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., LL.D.

THE lands watered by the Severn and its tributaries are among those parts of England which have ever been richest in great ecclesiastical foundations. The Fenland alone, on the other side of our island, can set itself up as a rival in the number and fame of its abbeys and other renowned churches. Yorkshire indeed is popularly looked on as the land of abbeys; but Yorkshire must, in the nature of things, contain more of anything than any other shire: and no one will deny that in the matter of ruined monastic churches, mainly of the Cistercian order, though swelled by the great Benedictine house of Saint Mary in the northern metropolis, Yorkshire has an allowance even beyond its size. But Yorkshire, the kingdom of Deira, must enter the lists, not with single shires, but with other kingdoms; and I think that the old kingdom of the Hwiccas, the lands of Gloucester and Worcester, may hold its own even against Deira. Of Evesham, Winchcombe, Cirencester, names, if less romantic, more historic, than those of Cistercian churches hidden in their dales, we have the memory abiding. But their very names, the British *combe*, the Roman *chester*, the English *ham*, tell us that Winchcombe, Cirencester Evesham, are places which have a deeper root in the history of our land than any spot to which a Romance-speaking founder gave a name of his own devising whose ending in *vauz* or *vallis* announced its foreign origin. And of the great churches that still abide, Gloucester, Worcester, Tewkesbury, Bristol, Malvern, a fragment of Pershore, a more precious fragment of Deerhurst, can stand up against York, Beverley, Ripon, Selby, fragments of half destroyed Malton and Bridlington, another more venerable fragment of unfinished Lastingham. The Fenland indeed has, in



Peterborough and Ely, two minsters of such surpassing majesty that they need hardly call in vanished Ramsey, mutilated Thorney, and shattered Crowland, as allies in the competition with either the northern or the western land. I speak at this moment of the architectural grandeur of the surviving churches; in historic importance this land of the Hwiccas surely equals, I will not venture to say that it surpasses, the land of Saint Æthelthryth and Saint Guthlac. And, if it would hardly be wise to set up Gloucester, Worcester, and Tewkesbury, in an artistic rivalry with Peterborough and Ely, it may be well to remember that the men of the Fenland, for whom nature had done so little, had a special need to call in the consolation of art. No heights of Cotteswold or Malvern, no Uleybury crowned with its primæval barrow and its primæval camp, no distant mountains fencing in the home of the still abiding Briton, look down on the land which beheld the last struggle of Hereward, as they look down on the land which beheld the march of Godwine and the last battle-field of Simon. Not small indeed are the memories which gather round this land of hills and valleys and fruitful meadows. And if I cannot say, as in some sort at Lincoln or Durham I might dare to say,

*"Tot congesta manu prœruptis oppida saxis,"*

I may at least say;

*"Adde tot egregias urbes, operumque laborem,  
Fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros."*

Out of the many Avons of our island you have one to flow by the fields and the towers of Evesham and of Tewkesbury, and another to flow by the healing founts of Bath to form the great haven of Bristol. And the wide Severn itself flows by the city which was saved by the prayers of Wulfstan and by the city which was won for the Saxon by the arms of Ceawlin, and at whose Midwinter feast King Edward and King William so often wore their crown.

Now I would ask you to mark my geography. My immediate business lies with your city of Gloucester, and with its great church, the church first of abbots and then of bishops. But I can hardly speak of Gloucester city or shire, without looking somewhat wider, without thinking of the greater whole of which

Gloucester, city and shire, forms a part. We are now in the ancient land of the Hwiccas, part of the land which Ceawlin won from the Briton in 577, so much of that land as lies north of the southern of the two Hwiccian Avons. We are in the land which saw the fight of Deorham, the land through which the conquering Saxon went on, like the conquering Hebrew, carrying havoc and slaughter from city to city. As he did unto Aquæ Solis and her king, so did he unto Corinium and her king, so did he unto Glevum and her king. So far the land north of Avon has the same history as the Saxon land to the south of it. Both were added to the possessions of the English folk by the same conqueror in the same act of conquest. But events a little later brought about a wide difference in the history of the two. The land south of Avon remained under West-Saxon rule; the land north of Avon passed under at least the supremacy of the Mercian kings. The two lands thus fell under two different laws with regard to their civil and ecclesiastical divisions. It has been my fate to be called on to set forth in more shapes than one the distinction in origin between the West-Saxon and the Mercian shires, between immemorial *pagi-gane*, formed during the very work of the conquest, bearing the name of a people rather than the name of a town, and shires mapped out with reference to local capitals from which their names are taken, I have pointed out that, while that mapping out was mainly done in the reign of Eadward the Elder, in this south-western corner of Mercia it was possibly the work of Ælfred himself. From this difference immediately follows another difference which more directly concerns my subject. In Wessex the civil divisions are older than the ecclesiastical; in Mercia, setting aside modern changes, the ecclesiastical divisions are older than the civil. It is specially needful in this diocese and city to put modern changes out of one's thoughts; otherwise I may be asked, Is not the shire of Gloucester, dating perhaps from the days of Ælfred, certainly from those of his son, older than the diocese of Gloucester and Bristol, dating only from William the Fourth, or even than the separate diocese of Gloucester, dating only from Henry the Eighth? True; but the diocese of

Worcester, the bishopric of the Hwiccas, is older than the shires of Worcester and Gloucester. South of Avon on the other hand, the diocese of Wells, the bishopric of the Sumorsætan, is far younger than the land of the Sumorsætan; the older diocese of Winchester, the bishopric of the West-Saxons, is far younger than the West-Saxon kingdom. Now, if the bishopric of the Sumorsætan is younger than the land of Sumorsætan, so the bishopric of the Hwiccas is younger than the land of the Hwiccas. But then the land of the Sumorsætan still keeps its place, its name, and its boundaries on the modern map, while the land of the Hwiccas has passed away, cut up, perhaps a thousand years back, into the later shires which represent it. At the time of the changes under Henry the Eighth, the changes which made Gloucester an episcopal see, the Mercian dioceses, with the single exception of Ely, were all older than the shires; the West-Saxon shires were all older than the dioceses. The land of the Hwiccas was by that time forgotten; none but antiquaries were likely to know that the diocese of Worcester represented it. The land of the Sumorsætan needed not the diocese of Bath and Wells to represent it; it stood then, as it stands still, to speak for itself in its own name.

In speaking then of the city, the shire, the diocese, of Gloucester, I am speaking of something which has been cut off from a greater whole, that greater whole being the land and diocese of the Hwiccas. That land took in four of the still abiding cities of England, Worcester, Gloucester, Bristol, and Bath. Do not be surprised at my reckoning Bath among the cities of the Hwiccas. That city has, at least from the days of the Norman Conquest, undoubtedly formed part of the land of Somerset. But Bath stands north of Avon; in the days of Offa at all events, it formed part of the Mercian kingdom.<sup>1</sup> The boundaries of

<sup>1</sup>I do not attach much value to the alleged charter of "Osricus rex" and the other notices of Bath which will be found in the *Monasticon*, ii. 263, 264. If genuine, they would make Bath a sister foundation with Gloucester; but at any rate they may be taken to shew that in the seventh and eighth centuries Bath was within the Mercian kingdom, and therefore was in the land of the Hwiccas. It doubtless formed part of the cession made at Cirencester.



kingdoms and shires often shifted, and at some time between Offa and William, Bath passed back again from Mercia to Wessex. But when Bath arose from its overthrow at the hands of Ceawlin, as Chester arose from its overthrow at the hands of Æthelfrith, it must have arisen, not as a West-Saxon, but as a Mercian town. The three *chesters* that Ceawlin overthrew in his first north-western inroad, Bathanceaster, Cirenceaster, Gleawanceaster, all lay north of Avon, all formed part of the land of the Hwiccas, no less than their northern fellow Wigraceaster. This last doubtless fell in his later and more northern raid, and rose again to become the ecclesiastical capital of the tribe that dwelled on the two Avons.

Bath then, Bathchester, at some date that cannot be exactly fixed, passed away from the Hwiccas and from all Mercia to become one of the episcopal heads of the Sumorsætan. In so doing, it did but fall back on an older fellowship. First West-Saxon, it became Mercian, and then became West-Saxon again. The other *chesters* of the Hwiccian land, Worcester, Cirencester, Gloucester, first West-Saxon like Bath, when they had once become Mercian, remained Mercian. All of them became seats of great ecclesiastical foundations; two of them, at different ages, became the seats of bishoprics. And alongside of them another city which in the beginning was no city, no Roman *chester*, no capital, no bishopric, but a simple borough of English birth, grew up and outstripped them all. Worcester, Cirencester, Gloucester, are all ties which bind the England that now is to the Britain of Welsh and Roman times. Bristol stands apart, as wholly the creation of our own folk. Bristol too, called into being as a seat of commerce, put on an ecclesiastical life also. It became the seat of an abbey, and the abbey in after years grew into a bishopric. Winchcombe, Evesham, Tewkesbury, Pershore, Deerhurst, Malvern, all of them places of English birth, though British elements lurk in the names of more than one of them, became in one age or another, seats of famous monasteries. The land of the Hwiccas, as I have said, became a land specially rich in great churches and lordly prelates. And the monastic spots of the land naturally fell into several groups. In several of them the religious founda-

tion came first, the town grew up around it. Such was conspicuously the case at Evesham and at Malvern; so it was at Tewkesbury, Winchcombe, Pershore; all are abbey towns, Malvern more accurately a priory village. They are all creations of the English folk or rather of the English Church. Two of them grew to be parliamentary boroughs; Winchcombe gave its name to a shire which was merged in that of Gloucester. But none of them ever took a place among cities or towns of the first rank. Cirencester, in its modern aspect, may seem to belong to the same group. But its real history is wholly unlike theirs. Cirencester has a history which is in some sort at cross-purposes to the history of Bristol. Cirencester, a Roman city, sank to the level of Tewkesbury and Evesham. The seat, first of a college of secular priests, then of a mitred abbey, its historical importance was mainly ecclesiastical. Bristol on the other hand, the English merchant borough which shot ahead alike of Roman cities and of seats of ancient abbeys, has, from the twelfth century onward, stood high in ecclesiastical rank, but its ecclesiastical rank was something wholly secondary. Tewkesbury and Evesham owe whatever secular importance they have to their older ecclesiastical importance. They became boroughs because they were seats of monasteries. Bristol on the other hand owes its ecclesiastical importance to its older secular importance. It became the seat of priory, abbey, bishopric, and of the stateliest parish church in England, because it was already a great and flourishing borough. And if the ecclesiastical importance of comparatively modern Bristol was a consequence of its earlier secular importance, so was it in an earlier time with the immemorial cities of the Hwiccan land. Worcester became the seat of the ancient bishopric of the Hwiccan folk. Gloucester became the seat of a mighty abbey, to grow in after time into a second Hwiccan bishopric. Here and at Worcester the city is older than the monastery, while at Tewkesbury and Evesham the monastery is older than the borough. Settlers of various kind fixed themselves at Tewkesbury and Evesham because abbots had already settled there. But bishops and abbots came to Worcester and Gloucester because the immemorial Roman cities had already long been the chief dwelling-places of men in the land in which they stood.

Now my subject is Gloucester, not any other of the Hwiccian towns. But it is well to take in the special position of Gloucester among its neighbours, as a Roman city, which, because it had been a Roman city, became the seat of a great English abbey. In this history it is manifestly quite unlike the history of Bristol on one side or of Evesham on the other; but put only *bishopric* for *abbey*, or rather *bishop* for *abbot*, and the definition of Gloucester becomes equally the definition of Worcester. Worcester and Gloucester stand out before us as the two heads of the Hwiccian land; Worcester, the first in ecclesiastical rank, Gloucester, we may believe, the first in temporal importance. If Worcester was the seat of bishops, while Gloucester was the seat only of abbots, Gloucester become, in a way that Worcester never did, the seat of kings of the whole land. When the kingdom of the Hwiccas was divided into shires, each city became the head of a shire which bore its own name. The land thus divided for the purposes of the kingdom remained alike for the purposes of the Church. Gloucester, city and shire, remained part of the spiritual fold of the Bishop of Worcester. Ages after, the ecclesiastical arrangements conformed to the newer temporal arrangements, and Gloucester became the head of a separate diocese as well as of a separate shire. One fragment of the shire indeed, which had already won a separate civil being, won a separate ecclesiastical being too. Bristol, already a county, became also a diocese, or rather the head of a diocese whose body, by a strange piece of geography, lay far away in West-Saxon Dorset. A Bishop of Bristol whose flock dwelled away from his city on the shores of the English Channel might seem like a Mercian conqueror or colonizer in the West-Saxon land. Later arrangements indeed have brought Bristol back into the Hwiccian fold, giving back the *gá* of the Dorsætan to its elder shepherd at Salisbury. They have brought Bristol back, to make it the twin head, along with Gloucester, of a common ecclesiastical body.<sup>1</sup> But strange to say,

<sup>1</sup>Since this was written, further changes again have been designed, which will make Bristol again a separate see with a somewhat anomalous diocese, but at any rate not so utterly cut off as when Bristol was the spiritual head of Wareham.



it has brought back with it new annexations from other ecclesiastical realms. That Bristol should enlarge itself ecclesiastically as well as civilly, that it should take in so much of itself as lies south of Avon, that it should even spread itself over its own suburbs, may be taken as retaliation for the West-Saxon annexation of Bath. It is stranger that Malmesbury and Cricklade should be torn away from the allegiance which they so long owe in succession to Winchester, to Ramsbury, to Salisbury old and new. This kind of mapping out of new boundaries confuses history and offends the geographical instinct. Divide a large shire or diocese into two; join two small ones into one; and geography does not complain of either process. But, whatever may be the practical gain for the present, the geographical instinct is offended when to the diocese formed by the division of the ancient diocese of the Hwiccas, scraps from other dioceses, from other ancient kingdoms, are added on.

Let us now look more specially to the history of Gloucester itself, and to other places only so far as they bear on the history of Gloucester. Yet we can hardly go through the older ecclesiastical history of Gloucester without some reference to the ancient mother church at Worcester; we can hardly go through its later ecclesiastical history without some reference to the modern fellow at Bristol. We can hardly discuss the architecture of the minster of Gloucester without some reference to the sister minster of Tewkesbury. Of Worcester and Gloucester indeed the history for a long time runs side by side. The two churches were founded almost at the same moment; the abbey of Gloucester was only a year or two younger than the bishopric of Worcester; and it is not easy to see why Gloucester rather than Worcester was not chosen as the seat of the bishopric. Or rather perhaps, according to English notions—English notions in this case being the same as British notions—it is easy to see. Britain, Celtic and Teutonic alike, never adopted the tradition of the mainland of Europe, which planted the bishopstool in the chief city of the diocese. One might almost risk the guess that Gloucester did not become the spiritual head of the Hwiccas because it was their temporal head. The

pre-eminent position of Gloucester somewhat later certainly makes us think that it became the temporal head of the district as soon as it came into being as an English town. But in the short interval of West-Saxon occupation, we have to ask the usual question whether the city existed or not. You may remark that I have more than once with some emphasis said the *city*. I am fully aware that Henry the Eighth, in founding the bishopric of Gloucester, conferred on the town of Gloucester the rank of a city.<sup>1</sup> The like grant has been made in our own time to Manchester, Saint Albans, Truro, Liverpool, and Newcastle-on-Tyne, and I believe that a little earlier Ripon took the rank of a city without any grant at all. The grant, and the assumption without a grant, alike go on the same principle, namely that the rank of a city—and, as far as I can see, it is simply a question of rank, and in no way a practical privilege—either belongs of necessity or ought of right to be granted to every town which is the seat of a bishop, and to none other. I know not the exact date or origin of this doctrine; it seems to have been fully established in the time of Henry the Eighth, it was certainly unknown in the time of Domesday; but I think I can see signs of it in the time of Richard the First.<sup>2</sup> In that great survey the name of *civitas* is given to Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Oxford, and other towns that were not bishops' sees, while it is not given to several towns that were. And the same language is commonly used in annals and documents of various kinds, the Gloucester chartulary for one. And certainly the right to the title of *civitas* would seem much more naturally to depend on the presence of a free municipal constitution, a rare thing in the time of Domesday, than on the presence of a bishop. I should therefore venture to follow the example of

<sup>1</sup>*Monasticon* i., 553. "Quod tota villa nostra Gloucestriae ex nunc et deinceps in perpetuum sit civitas, ipsamque civitatem Gloucestriae vocari appellari et nominari volumus ac decernimus." A great deal follows about the county of the city and other matters.

<sup>2</sup>I infer this from the language of the Jew in Richard of the Devizes § 81; "Rovecestria et Cicestria viculi sunt, et cur civitates dici debeant praeter sedes flaminum nihil obtinent." Rochester appears in *Domesday* 76 as *civitas*, and Chichester in 23. The most unexpected use of the word is when Wareham appears as *civitas* in *Gesta Stephani*, p. 54. But Wareham, as its dykes show, has greatly shrunk up, like Rome, Autun, and Soest.

Domesday and the chartulary, and to speak of the city of Gloucester in days earlier than these when King Henry's charter professed to change the *villa* of Gloucester into a *civitas*.

In the last English city to which I was called on to make a discourse about itself, I had to tell its people that they had the privilege, if privilege it was, to be able to point to a single man, and that man a king and a king who bears the worst name among our kings, as their personal founder.<sup>1</sup> I had to tell the citizens of Carlisle that their city, in its present phase of its existence, was the erection of William Rufus. Now William Rufus has a good deal to do with the history of Gloucester; but I am not called on to insult the city by giving it so modern a founder. Gloucester had lived through a good many ages before either the second or the first William held his court here. Legend gives you a much earlier founder, and it may well be that the legend contains some kernel of truth. I certainly shall not take on myself to say that the name Gloucester means the city of Claudius; I will not say that Gloucester was a personal erection of the elder Emperor of that name during his very short stay in Britain. But the traditional connexion between Gloucester and Claudius does seem to have some ground to go upon. Glevum does seem, like Camulodunum, to have been an erection of the first stage, the Claudian stage, of Roman advance in Britain.<sup>2</sup> History may go thus far. Legend has added not a few details. A poet on the banks of Severn, Layamon himself, sang how "Claudius þe kaiserere," whose name seem to alternate with that of Claudian the poet, received the submission of Arviragus and gave him to wife his daughter Genuis, an odd-sounding sister for Octavia and Britannicus. But Claudius himself gave them a younger brother of British stock, the Emperor's son by a British captive, who, in some undescribed kind of heathen baptism, received the name of Gloi. Now Arviragus and Genuis for their "mickle bliss" reared a borough on a very fair spot upon Severn, and for love of Claudius called it *Kair Olou*. But the

<sup>1</sup> See *English Towns and Districts*, p. 423.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. Hübner's paper at the end of Mr. Bellows' *Glevum*, p. 7.



name stood not long, for, when Gloi was born and baptized, his father gave him the new borough, and changed its name to *Kair Gloi*. When he went back to Rome, taking with him Gloi's nameless mother, for other queen—Agrippina, Messallina, and their predecessors, having strangely vanished—he had none but Gloi, himself abode in *Caer Gloi* to be “deme and duc” there.<sup>1</sup> Let them take this eponymous hero that will. Of the two I would rather take Glovi the remote forefather of Vortigern, a forefather so remote that he has himself no recorded father, Claudian or otherwise, but who built a great city by the bank of the Severn, clearly in some very distant age.<sup>2</sup> Such founders as these you will perhaps hardly ask me to accept for you. Glovi, Glou, Glevum, Clevum, Glebon, are British and Roman names of the Roman *chester*, the real meaning of which I must ask some of our British friends to explain. But the belief in the Claudian origin of Gloucester took deep root. Not only has Geoffrey of Monmouth, and a poet who follows him into being a sounding gentile “Claudiocestrenis,” but the graver rubric of one of the Conqueror's laws describes it as enacted “in civitate Claudia.”<sup>3</sup> In real history I can find no such stirring tale of the Roman life of Glevum as there is to tell of Eboracum, Verulamium, and Camalodunum, and of that Augusta whose imperial style soon

<sup>1</sup>See Layamon I., 408. The passage begins :—

Muchel wes þa blisse :  
 þe wes i þáue Bruttene.  
 Mid þan kinge Aruirag.  
 Aud þæn kæisere Claudius.  
 þa wes þis folk swa bliðe  
 Swa heo naere nauer aer on liue  
 For þere muchele blisse.  
 Heo aræden enne burge  
 a enne swiðe feire stude  
 uppe Sæuerne.

See also Mr. Earle, *Local Names in Gloucestershire*, *Archæological Journal*, xvii., 343.

<sup>2</sup>Nennius, C. 54. “Bonus, Paulus, Mauron, Guotolin, quatuor fratres fuerunt, filii Glovi qui ædificavit urbem magnam super ripam fluminis Sabrinæ, quæ vocatur Britannico sermone Cair-Glou, Saxonice autem Gloucestre.”

<sup>3</sup>See the Statute in Stubbs' *Select Charters*, 80.

yielded to its older name Londinium.<sup>1</sup> But I might have a stirring tale to tell if I could only believe the legend in which the sounding gentile name which I just quoted figures. It becomes the epithet of a duke, an early Duke of Gloucester, who, Briton as he is, has the presumption to kill Hengest, and that seemingly far away from Hengest's narrow range of action as we find it in the Chronicles. In Geoffrey of Monmouth this valiant personage bears the name of Eldol; in the poetic narrative he takes a shape which suggests more modern associations, and those of quite another kind. The slayer of the founder of England appears in sounding hexameters as

" Consul fortissimus Eldon  
Claudiocestrensis."<sup>2</sup>

The valiant Eldon who slew Hengest of Kent may be left to the domain of fancy; we know at least the name and the fate of Coinmagil, one of the three kings who fell before the sword of Ceawlin on the field of Deorham.<sup>3</sup> And as Coinmagil stands first on the list of three kings, while Gloucester stands first on list of the three *chesters*, we may infer that the seat of Coinmagil's kingdom was at Gloucester, a kingdom certainly of no great extent, as Cirencester and Bath had kings of their own. Kings at least they are in our own Chronicles; whether any of them could have been the style of *brenhin* in a chronicle of their own folk, I do not presume to guess. On that great day when Ceawlin slew three kings and marched forth to take three *chesters* the land that was to be the land of the Hwiccas was added to the possessions of the English folk. The day of Deorham was indeed one of the days which did most towards the Making of England. On that day the English folk for the first time hewed its way through that solid British mass which, a hundred and thirty years after the first landing at Ebbsfleet, still stretched unbroken from Clyde to the southern channel. And it was no slight pledge of the abiding nature of his conquest that the Teutonic

<sup>1</sup> Ammianus, xxvii., 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesta Regum Britannicæ*, edited by Francisque Michel, p. 84. The single combat of Eldon and "Engistus" follows at page 96.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Chronicles*, 577.

conqueror held the city which formed the natural key of the lands which had yet to be won. The lowest point where sandy Severn could be bridled by a bridge became one of the strongholds of English power, the special seat of councils gathered to debate the means of holding the still unconquered Briton in check.

The conquerors of Gloucester were West-Saxon and heathen. At our next glimpse of the city a hundred and four years later, its rulers were Mercian and Christian. Or perhaps it might be true to say that the external overlord was Mercian, while the immediate prince and his people were still West-Saxon. The land of the Hwiccas is ruled by its own ealdorman or under-king, under the supremacy of the King of the Mercians. The Christian Osric is the man of the Christian Wulfhere, the son of the fierce heathen Penda. In the course of this century two great revolutions had taken place. The conqueror Penda had rent away the land north of the Avon from the grasp of the successors of Ceawlin. We may safely fix the date of this change to the year 628, the year of the fight waged by Penda against Cynegils and Cwichelm, and the treaty which followed the fight.<sup>1</sup> Wessex now begins to withdraw from northern conquest to find a field for her advance at the cost of the Britons of the West. The city of the treaty and the city of the Severn alike passed away to the master of Mid-England. But are we right in saying cities, or was it merely the sites of cities? That is to say, was Glevum, Cair Glovi, simply conquered, or was it destroyed, to lie waste for a season and to be called into being again at a later time? This last was the fate of Deva, Caerleon-on-Dee, Chester, City of the Legions, whose Roman walls stood empty without inhabitants for three hundred years till they received a new colony at the bidding of the Lady of the Mercians. The like was the fate of one of the cities which formed part of the same conquest as Glevum, of Aquæ Solis, Acemannesceaster, Bath. Bath, there can be little doubt, lay for a while desolate, to supply to an English poet a

<sup>1</sup> See the *Chronicles*, 628.



subject for musing on the vanity of human things.<sup>1</sup> It may then well be that Glevum perished in the like sort, that it lay desolate for a season, as Deva and Aquæ Solis lay for a season, as Calleva and Anderida lie desolate still. To this question general history can give no answer: I know not whether local research has lighted on any facts which may help to give an answer either way. But, whatever was the immediate fate of the Roman city, we know its position and its extent. The walls of Glevum do not abide like the walls of still peopled Camulodunum; like the walls of empty Calleva and Anderida. They have not even left such mighty and visible fragments as the walls of Lindum and Eboracum. But their circuit can be traced; the four arms of the Roman *chester* have left their abiding stamp on the streets of the modern city, and not a few pieces of the old rampart may be seen by those who are willing to search for them below the level of modern times.<sup>2</sup> And, in any case, if Gloucester ever stood empty, it could not have stood empty very long. It was again in being, again spoken of as a city, a hundred and four years after the conquest. It is then, in the year 681, that the ecclesiastical history of Gloucester begins.

According to the general rule which was followed throughout the conversion of England, the land of the Hwiccas, as forming a separate under-kingdom, was entitled to a bishop of its own. And, as the newly converted Mercian land was gradually brought under ecclesiastical rule, such a bishopric did not fail to appear. And, according to a rule only less general throughout Britain, both Celtic and Teutonic,<sup>3</sup> the prelate of that bishopric did not

<sup>1</sup> The poem on ruins from the *Codex Ewoniensis* is printed by Grein, *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*, p. 248. Only, when any Old-English writing is printed in Germany, one is driven wild by the absurd change of *w* into *v*. How do they expect us to call Beowulf or anybody else? Mr. Earle has ruled that the city spoken of is Bath.

<sup>2</sup> See *On the Ancient Wall of Gloucester, and some Roman Remains found in proximity to it, in 1873*. By John Bellows, Proceedings of the Cotteswold Field Club, vol. vi., pp. 154-187.

<sup>3</sup> I have treated on this head in the note on "*Titles of Bishops and Bishoprics*." *Norman Conquest*, ii., 603.

bear as his title the name of any particular spot in his diocese, but the name of the land itself or rather of its folk. We do not as yet hear of a Bishop of Worcester, but of a Bishop of the Hwiccas.<sup>1</sup> But his bishopstool was at Worcester, which shows that, whatever may have been the fate of that *chester* when the land was won from the Briton by the West-Saxon and from the West-Saxon by the Mercian, Worcester, as well as Gloucester, was now a dwelling-place of the English folk, one of their chief dwelling-places in the Hwiccian land. The first bishop Bosel—his name sounds strange and I can give no further account of it—was much helped in his labours by the ubiquitous Wilfrith, ever ready to do or to suffer in any part of the world.<sup>2</sup> And fast on the foundation of the bishopric at Worcester, in the very next year, followed the first foundation of the abbey of Gloucester, the creation of the Hwiccian under-king Osric, with the assent of his temporal over-lord, King Æthelred and his spiritual pastor Bishop Bosel.<sup>3</sup>

Here then are the first great fruits of English Christianity in the Hwiccian under-kingdom. We must never forget what English conquest in the days of Ceawlin and Penda meant. It meant the uprooting of Christianity, the bringing in of heathendom, in a land which was already Christian. No feature of the conquest is more strongly insisted on than this in our own picture of English settlement from the vanquished side, in the Lamentation of Gildas. *Caer Glovi* was doubtless a Christian city; legend claims for it bishops and even archbishops, and gives us the names of some of them.<sup>4</sup> All this rests on no evidence; still the legend is not actually impossible, like the legend which slays Hengest by the hands of Duke Eldon. If *Caer Glovi* never had bishops of its own, it certainly had Christian inhabitants, and Christian inhabitants imply at least

<sup>1</sup> See Bæda, iv., 23, v., 23.

<sup>2</sup> Bæda, iv., 23. So at least says the alleged charter of Æthelred, *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii, S. Petri, Gloucestricæ*, vol. i., lxxi, & p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, vol. i., p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Chronicles*, 894.

presbyters. The short period of West-Saxon rule north of Avon was a purely heathen period; when Cwichelm gave up Gloucester and Cirencester to Penda, he was still the unregenerated pagan who two years before sent the murderer to slay Eadwine, not the hopeful convert who eight years later was christened and died at Dorchester on Thames. And what Cwichelm was Penda was, and something more. If the West-Saxon was *paganus*, the Mercian was *paganissimus*, not only a heathen, but himself an armed champion of heathendom. Under Ceawlin, under Cwichelm, under Penda, the altars of Christ throughout the Hwiccian land must have given way to the altars of Woden and Thunder. But on the question whether the city itself lay desolate for while hangs another question, were Woden and Thunder ever worshipped actually within its walls? Assuredly they never were worshipped within the walls of Caerleon-on-Dee, unless when the forsaken Roman rampart became for a moment a Danish fortress against Ælfred.<sup>1</sup> So here too it may well be that, when Penda had fallen before the arms of the Bretwalda of the North,<sup>2</sup> when the new faith spread over Mercia under Peada and Wulfhere, Christianity and human habitation found their way together within the forsaken walls of Glevum. It may be that, as Caer Glovi was a Christian city to its end, so Gleawceaster was a Christian city from its beginning. It may be that Bosel and Osric found no altars of Woden to overthrow, but that, like Augustine at Canterbury, they found hallowed sites and fallen temples of Christ which they could again turn back to their ancient use. All this is conjecture; it all may be so; it is not unlikely to be so, but that is all. Still our first glimpse of English Gloucester sets it before us a Christian city. The city or its site is shrouded in darkness for the whole century between the conquest by Ceawlin and the foundation of the first abbey by Osric.

And now one word more about the name of the city and of the shire to which, after the use of Mercia, it has given its name.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Chronicles*, 894.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Chronicles*, 365. And more fully, Bæda, 324.



We may cast "*Claudius pe keisere*" aside, and we need not trouble ourselves about any personal *Gloi* or *Glovi*. The Latin, the British, and the English names of the city, *Glevum*, *Caer Glovi*, and *Gleaweceaster*—in the various spellings of each—are simply the same name modified in each case according to the genius of the Latin, the British, and the English language. The first letter seem to have fluctuated a little between *c* and *g*, as seems implied in *Layamon's* strange story about the town being first called *Kair Clov* and then *Kair Glovi*. The course of change is simple; the name is of course British to start with; it takes a Latin form; the later Briton speaks of the place by its Latin name or his corruption of it with the prefix of his own tongue, *caer*; the Englishman speaks of it by its Latin name or his corruption of it, with the affix of his own tongue, *ceaster*. *Caer Glovi* and *Gleaweceaster* are simply the British and the English ways of saying "city of *Glevum*." From the West-Saxon conquest onward, *Gleaweceaster*, *Gloucester*, the name being made shorter to the ear than to the eye, has remained the English name of the city. And plain Englishmen, even in writing Latin, have been contented with such forms as *Gloucestria*. The rival form *Glaworna* seems more elegant, and to come more directly from the British forms. *Claudiocestra*, we may leave, it might be held, not to the Britons, who have the sense to say *Caer Lloyw*, but to those who retail British fables in Latin prose or verse.

Gloucester then makes its beginning in English history towards the end of the seventh century, as an English and Christian city, seemingly the temporal head of the *Hwiccas*, the seat of what was doubtless even then, according to the standard of the seventh century, a great religious foundation. That foundation began its career as a home of the devouter sex, at all events as a monastery under rules of the devouter sex. Three abbesses of princely rank reigned at Gloucester, *Cyneburh* the founder's sister, *Eadburh*, the widow of King *Wulfhere*, and one who bears the more puzzling names of *Eva* and *Gaffe*.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> She appears as *Eva* in the *Gloucester History*, *Hist. et Cart.*, vol. i., p. 7, and as *Gaffe* in page 4. Of the two names *Gaffe* sounds more English than *Eva*; but I do not see what name can be meant.

house received many gifts, among them the bodies of its founder and other illustrious persons. It flourished in this its first estate till the wars of the first part of the ninth century, the wars that gave Ecgberht of Wessex his place as the eighth Bretwalda. Then, from some cause or another, the succession of abbesses comes to an end; the nuns are said to have fled, and the house of Saint Peter of Gloucester becomes a home of secular priests. The credit of this second foundation is given to King Beornwulf of Mercia, and the date is somewhat strangely fixed to the years 823, a busy and a fatal year for Beornwulf, as it saw both his defeat by Ecgberht at Ellandún, and his death at the hands of the East-Angles.<sup>1</sup> In the course of the next century another ecclesiastical foundation arose at Gloucester distinct from the house of Osric, though in its near neighbourhood. Ealdorman Æthelred and his renowned wife the Lady of the Mercians founded the church of Saint Oswald at Gloucester, for secular priests as well as its neighbours. It stood outside the Roman wall; its safety was perhaps assured by a precious relic; for it boasted of holding the body of the martyred Northumbrian Bretwalda, translated thither from its first resting-place at Bardeney.<sup>2</sup> Of the church of Saint Oswald, better

<sup>1</sup> As Beornwulf counts for a local hero, I may recall the fragment of an ancient ballad about his death, which we have in three tongues. In the English version of Peter Langtoft we find it in English, though not contemporary English:

Under Elendoune þe bataile was smyten  
Men syng in þat cwntry (fele zit it witen):  
"Elendoune, Elendoune, þi lond is fulle rede  
Of þe blode of Bernewolf, þer he toke his dede."

Henry of Huntington, iv., 29, gives an echo in his Latin prose: "Egbricht, xxiv. anno regni sui commisit prælium contra Beornwulf regem Merce apud Ellendune; unde dicitur: 'Ellendune rivus cruore rubuit, ruina restitit, fœtore tabuit.'" Lastly, we have Peter Langtoft's French version, I., 296:—

"Desuth Elendoune la guere fu finye  
En proverbe auncyen sovent le ay oye,  
Elendoune, Elendoune, ta terre est rubye  
Du saunk le ray Bernulphe à sa cravauntye."

<sup>2</sup> See Bæda, iii., 11. See also Will. Malms, *Gest. Pont.*, iv., 155, and *Gesta Regum*, i., 49, "Ossa beatissimi Oswaldi cum ea loca infestarent barbari, Glocestram translata: locus iste, canonicos habens, non multo incolitur habitatore." This seems to refer to Saint Oswalds.

known as Saint Katharine's, a shattered ruin only is left, a choir, it would seem, which perished at the dissolution, a parish nave that survived till the civil wars. And in its shattered walls, among a crowd of fragments of many dates built up from many parts of the buildings, one stone still abides, a small baluster, or rather a respond in the shape of a baluster, which we can hardly doubt is a genuine relic of the work of the Lady. The great abbey itself has no such witness to show of the days when England was growing into oneness.

One might look on the translation of Northumbrian Oswald to Hwiccian soil as part of the spoils of victory borne off by Æthelflæd and her brother. We here find the beginning of that remarkable connexion between Gloucester and the Northern primatial see which sometimes looks rather like a Northumbrian invasion of southern lands. For many generations a close tie binds together Northern England and the diocese of Worcester, especially the churches of Gloucester. Sometimes, as in the case of Wulfstan, the Northumbrian archbishopric and the Mercian bishopric are held together. Sometimes the Northumbrian Primate tries to add to the scanty number of his suffragans by claiming the diocese of the Hwiccas as part of his province.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes he is charged with detaining lands belonging to Saint Peter of Gloucester. And at last, when all such claims are withdrawn, the patronage of Saint Oswald of Gloucester is given to the Archbishop of York as part of his compensation.<sup>2</sup> If the date given to the foundation of Beornwulf is the right one, the church of Gloucester remained in its second state under secular priests for 199 years. Then, in the year 1022, when Cnut was on the throne of England, and when the episcopal chair of Worcester, and, according to the tendency above mentioned, the throne of York also with it, was filled by the earlier Wulfstan, the renowned preacher of the memorable sermon to the English folk;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As Thomas of Bayeux, see *Norman Conquest*, iv., 355.

<sup>2</sup> As Ealdred, *Norman Conquest*, ii., 436, v., 760, and for the compromise, *William Rufus*, i., 447.

<sup>3</sup> See *Norman Conquest*, i., 683.



the change which that age saw in so many other churches took place at Gloucester also. By the action of Archbishop Wulfstan, with the consent of King Cnut, the secular canons were removed from the church of Saint Peter; the monastic rule was brought in, and Eadric began the line of the abbots, in time to become the mitred abbots, of the great Benedictine house of Gloucester.<sup>1</sup>

By this time Saint Peter had another ecclesiastical corporation by its side in the shape of Saint Oswald's. And this neighbourhood influenced the style of the elder house. In a document in the Gloucester Chartulary Eadric describes himself as Abbot of the Old Home—"Abbas in Ealdanhame"—and the deed is witnessed by the congregation of the old minster—"tota congregatio veteris monasterii."<sup>2</sup> At Gloucester, no less than at Winchester, the old minster had to be distinguished from the new.

Meanwhile the name of Gloucester city appears not a few times in the general history of England. It was emphatically a royal city. As the making of England went on, as the under-kingdom of the Hwiccas merged in the kingdom of the Mercians and the kingdom of the Mercians merged in the kingdom of the English, Gloucester became one of the chief places for gatherings for the whole kingdom. In the eleventh century, alike under Eadward and under William, it was established as one of the three places where the King yearly wore his crown, where, at the season of one of the great feasts of the Church, he appeared before the nation in the full pomp of kingship, and gathered around him his Witan and his whole folk, at once to see the greatness of their sovereign and to share his counsels for the government of his realm. When the land still knew no single capital, when different parts of the kingdom in turn beheld the meetings of the King and his people, the geographical position of Gloucester gave it every claim to be chosen as one of these great national centres. If the King wore his crown at Easter at

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 8.

<sup>2</sup> The document is in Mr. Hart's *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 8. It is fixed, if not to the year 1022, at any rate to the early days of Cnut, by the reference to the great Danegeld of 1018. See *Norman Conquest*, i., 418.

Winchester and at Pentecost at Westminster, the Midwinter feast and the assembly which attended it were, no less by established use, held at Gloucester. This practice suggests that Gloucester, no less than Winchester from of old, and Westminster at least from the days of the Confessor, was one of the chief dwelling-places of the kings. A royal house of the older pattern was the predecessor of the Norman castle which arose at the bidding of the Conqueror. In short, while we may suspect that Gloucester had been the capital of the kingdom of the Hwiccas, that it remained the capital of the Mercian lordship of Æthelred and Æthelflæd, it is certain that in the days of King Eadward and King William, it counted as one of the three capitals of the whole kingdom. Certain too it is that Gloucester was visited not a few times by kings and kingly persons, alive and dead, at other times than those prescribed for the holding of national assemblies. In 928 the Lady of the Mercians died at Tamworth, one of the fortresses which she had strengthened against the Dane; but her body was carried to Gloucester, seemingly as her capital, and was there laid, not in her own church of Saint Oswald, but in the east porch of the older minster of Saint Peter.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand in 940 Glorious Æthelstan died at Gloucester; but it is Malmesbury that claims to be the place of his burial. In the next century the Gemóts of Gloucester are endless, and some of them are among the most memorable in our history. And memorable events also happen at Gloucester which are not directly connected with the holding of the regular Gemóts. It was at least in the immediate neighbourhood of Gloucester that, towards the end of the year of the battles of Cnut and Eadmund, the year 1016, the two rivals met on Olney in the Severn, legend says for a fierce *holmgang*, history says for a peaceful conference, and there agreed on the treaty which for a moment divided England between them.<sup>2</sup> In the next generation we find Harthacnut holding his Midwinter

<sup>1</sup> This statement in all its local definiteness comes from the *Chronicles*, 918. "And hire lic lið binnan Gleawceastre on þam east portice Sce Petres ciricean."

<sup>2</sup> See *Norman Conquest*, i. 396, 705.

feast at Gloucester, and there selling the bishopric of Durham.<sup>1</sup> It is to be hoped that he held his banquettings in his own house and at his own cost. To have provided for the four daily meals of all Harthacnut's loaf-eaters would have been a heavy drain on the revenues of either abbot or earl.<sup>2</sup> Two years later we find Gloucester the scene of a remarkable assembly which, as it was held in November instead of at Christmas, must have been an assembly specially summoned. There the meek Confessor decreed the spoilation of all his mother's treasures, and sent the great Earls, Godwine, Leofric, and Siward, to ride with all speed to Winchester, and carry out the decree.<sup>3</sup> And he was tarrying at Gloucester at a more memorable time. He was there in the autumn of 1051, when Eustace of Boulogne came to make his moan how Englishmen had refused to allow strangers to enter and occupy their homes at pleasure, and when Godwine refused, even at his prince's bidding, to carry fire and sword among the uncondemned and untried folk of his own earldom. I have striven elsewhere to tell the tale and to paint the picture, how the patriot host gathered at the bidding of their earls on the lofty ground of Beverstone, how they marched along the heights that overlook your fruitful valley and your broad river, to meet, but not in arms, the hosts of northern and central England gathered around their king in your own city.<sup>4</sup> One leaps, as by instinct, from the eleventh century to the seventeenth. Then again we find Gloucester the centre of a patriotic struggle; only then the king is without the walls, and the defenders of English freedom are within them. A year later, Godwine has fallen and risen again; he has gone into banishment at the bidding of strangers, and has been welcomed

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* i. 527.

<sup>2</sup> See the curious passage in Henry of Huntingdon, vi. 201 where he complains of the few meals of the kings of his own time. "Tantæ namque largitatis fertur fuisse, ut prandia regalia quatuor in die vicibus omni curiæ suæ faceret apponi, malens a vocatis apposita fercula demitti, quam a non vocatis apponenda fercula reposci: cum nostri temporis consuetudo sit, causa vel avaritiæ, vel ut ipsi dicunt, fastidii, principes semel in die tantum suis escas antepondere."

<sup>3</sup> See *Norman Conquest*, ii. 63.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 141-147.



back to his country and to his earldom by the rejoicing voice of the English folk. The Midwinter feast of 1052 saw King Eadward again at Gloucester, not this time to seek the slaughter of English burghers or the banishment of English earls, but to order—by bill of attainder, it would seem—the beheading of a troublesome Welsh prince, and to have the head brought to him before the holy season was over.<sup>1</sup>

During all the Welsh wars of this time, Gloucester, as one of the keys of England towards the Briton, naturally holds one of the foremost places. It is the meeting-place alike of councils and of armies, whenever anything was to be devised or done which bore upon the affairs of the Welsh border. Two years after the beheading of Rhys, when the foreign tactics of Ralph the Timid had brought defeat on the English arms, when Gruffydd and the rebel Ælfgar had laid waste Hereford, city and shire, King Eadward is again at Gloucester, and Gloucester is the trysting-place of the forces of Earl Harold in his first campaign against the Britons.<sup>2</sup> It was at Gloucester again, in the Midwinter Gemôt of 1062, that order was taken for Harold's great and final campaign in Wales. For that campaign itself Harold indeed set forth by sea for Bristol; but it was from Gloucester that he set out, and it was to Gloucester that he came back, in that rehearsal as it were of the great enterprise, when he burned King Gruffydd's house at Rhuddlan and the ships in the neighbouring haven.<sup>3</sup> And in this respect the Norman Conquest made no change in the position of the city. We know not the exact date of the Conquest of Gloucestershire; but it can hardly have been till after the fall of Exeter in 1068. The city at once appears again as the place for the Midwinter assembly, when the king wore his *cynehelm*, and gathered around him archbishops and bishops, abbots and earls, and knights.<sup>4</sup> It was at Gloucester, "in civitate Claudia," that the Conqueror put forth the law that Frenchmen who had

<sup>1</sup> *Norman Conquest*, 355.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 400.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 475-477.

<sup>4</sup> *Chronicles*, 1087. "On Eastron ne hine bæc on Winceastre, on Pentecosten on West mynstre, on Mide wintre on Gleaweceastre. And þænne wæron mid ealle þa rice men ofer eall Englalond arcebiscopas leodbiscopas and abbodas and eorlas þegnas and cnihtas."

settled in England in King Eadward's time should count as Englishmen—strange comment on the dreams of those who have pictured to themselves a wide and impassable gap between "Normans and Saxons."<sup>1</sup> And later in his reign, at the Midwinter of 1085, a far more memorable enactment was made in a Gemót of Gloucester. There the King held his court for five days; there, according to the innovation of the Conqueror's own reign, Archbishop Lanfranc held his separate synod for three days. And in this gathering it was that the King had that mickle thought and deep speech with his Witan, that mickle thought how his land was set and of what men, of which came the unique treasure of the eleventh century, the priceless record of Domesday.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of Gloucester, great under Eadward and under William the Great, was certainly in no way lessened under William the Red. I look through my own chronology of his reign, and I doubt whether the name of any other place appears so often as that of Gloucester, unless it be that of Le Mans. Gloucester and Le Mans certainly figure in those annals in different character. Le Mans is pre-eminently the city of warfare; Gloucester is still above all things the city of assemblies, the city where a good deal of fighting was decreed, but where no fighting actually took place. And yet, in the year of rebellion, when the Norman king was kept on his throne by the loyalty of the English people, a good deal of fighting went on at places at no great distance. The other cities the history of which is entwined with that of Gloucester figure in the tale, but not Gloucester itself. Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances turned Bristol into a den of robbers, and thence sent forth William of Eu to burn Bath and lay waste Berkeley.<sup>3</sup> Before Worcester the Normans and the Britons were

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 80. *Norman Conquest*, iv. 620.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicles*, 108, 5. "Da to þam mide wintre waes se cyng on Gleaweceastre mid his witan, and heold þær his hired v dagas, and siððan þe arceb' and gehadode men hæfden sinod þreo dagas \* \* \* Æfter þisum hæfde se cyng mycel geþeabt and swiðe deope spæce wið his witan ymbe þys land hu hit wære gesett oððe mid hwilcon mannon."

<sup>3</sup> See *William Rufus*, i. 37, et seqq. The words of the *Chronicle* 1088, are terse enough: "Gosfrið bisceop and Rodbeard a Mundbracg ferdon to Brigstowe and hergodon, and brohton to þam castele þa hergunge."

overthrown by the voice of English Wulfstan.<sup>1</sup> But of Gloucester itself we hear nothing during the rebellion against the second William any more than we do during the Conquest wrought by the first. I do indeed find a report that Duke Robert's party—we cannot call them his followers—burned church and city at Gloucester, not in the year 1088, in which they did burn a good many places, but in 1087, where there was no such party in being to burn anything. There are plenty of real burnings of Gloucester somewhat later; but for this in 1087 or 1088 the *Monasticon* gives no better reference than to a county history, and it is quite impossible to find a place for it in the recorded annals of the time.<sup>2</sup> There is perhaps really nothing very wonderful, if, when Bristol and Worcester were chief seats of warfare at the hands of two distinct sets of enemies, the ravages of one party failed to reach so far south, while the ravages of the other failed to recoil so far north. At any rate, if those who harried Berkeley had gone on to burn Gloucester, the contemporary chroniclers of their doings, above all he who wrote at Worcester, were not likely to leave out the greater exploits of the two. Anyhow, if we have nothing to say of Gloucester at this moment, the blank is filled up before long; a little later Gloucester seems to figure as the very centre of English history. In the memorable year which beheld the beginning of the primacy of Anselm, everything seems to gather round the city by the Severn-bridge. It was at the Midwinter assembly of 1092, therefore doubtless at Gloucester, that all hearts were stirred at the long vacancy of the archbishopric, and that the Witan petitioned the King to allow prayers to be put up in all churches for the turning of his own heart.<sup>3</sup> It was to Gloucester that two months later the sick and repentant king was brought from Alvestone; it was there that the unwilling Anselm was named to the highest place in the English Church,

<sup>1</sup> See *William Rufus*, i., 47, and Note D, App. ii., 475.

<sup>2</sup> *Monasticon* i., 532. "In 1087, the new minster, as Alred's building was termed, was burnt with the greater part of the city by the adherents of Robert, Duke of Normandy." But no better reference is given than Rudder, *History of Gloucester*, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> See *William Rufus*, i., 388.



that the staff was thrust by main force between his clenched fingers, that by main force he was imprisoned in an episcopal chair, that he spake his parable against his own nomination, the parable of warning against yoking together an old feeble sheep and an untamed wild bull.<sup>1</sup> In the same city, in the same memorable Lent, came the ambassadors of Malcolm of Scotland, to be received with courtesy and treated with reason, by the repentant king still on his sick bed. Again a few months later, at Gloucester, the King of Scots comes in person, to be received with scorn by an overlord who was no longer either sick or repentant, and to go back to his own land to avenge his wrongs by that last invasion of Northern England which cost him his life at Alnwick.<sup>2</sup> A few months later again the Witan of England came together at Gloucester for the Midwinter feast of that year. Then came the bodes of Duke Robert of Normandy to challenge King William of England to arbitration or to war. Then war was decreed; then the great men of the land were called to contribute to its cost; then Anselm won the Red King's disfavour by refusing to grind his already suffering tenants to satisfy the sovereign's greed of money.<sup>3</sup>

The series of assemblies at Gloucester was for several years interrupted by the Red King's absence in Normandy at the tide of Christmas. But his last Midwinter feast was kept in its regular place, though we have no record of its acts. And it was from Gloucester, not indeed from the royal castle, not from the hall, if hall they had, of the citizens, but from the pulpit of the newly hallowed minster of Saint Peter that the voice of warning came to the Red King on the day before his death.<sup>4</sup> Our glance at Gloucester in its national aspect, as one of the established meeting places of the Great Council of the nation, has carried us far in advance of the local history of city and abbey. We must go back nearly eighty years to take up the tale of the church of Saint Peter from the time of its submission to Benedictine rule.

<sup>1</sup> See the wonderful description in Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, 16-18. See *William Rufus*, i., 401-402.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ii., 9, 10, 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i., 435, 438.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ii., 317.

We saw Abbot Eadric installed in the days of Cnut as the first chief of the house in its new character. He bears a bad report for wasting the goods of his church and alienating its land.<sup>1</sup> The close connexion between the abbey of Gloucester and the bishopric of Worcester, much closer certainly than is commonly to be found between abbey and bishopric, is shown by the nomination of his successor Wulfstan by bishop Ealdred.<sup>2</sup> Let no one confound this Wulfstan with the Archbishop of York and Bishop of Worcester who has now been dead more than thirty years, nor yet with the saint of the same name who was now prior of the church of Worcester, and was presently to become its bishop. But the Bishop of Worcester not only appoints the Abbot of Gloucester, he rebuilds the minster of Gloucester, and seemingly takes to himself some of the lands of the abbey of Gloucester by way of payment of his expenses.<sup>3</sup> What the Bishop of Worcester took the Archbishop of York kept and handed on to his successor. English Ealdred made no restitution to English Wulfstan, but Norman Thomas did make restitution to Norman Serlo.<sup>4</sup> This last prelate did not, like

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 8. "Multa bona dissipavit, quoniam tempore suo, in perpetuam exhaeredationem, vendita fuerunt maneria de Beggeworth, de Hatherleye."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i., 9. "Aldredus, Wygorniensis episcopus, Wlstanum Wygornia monachum in abbatem Gloucestriae consecravit, anno Domini millesimo quinquagesimo octavo, et de licentia regis Edwardi Confessoris, ibidem constituit."

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* "Ipse Alredus ecclesiam illam a fundamentis construxit de novo, et in honore principis Apostolorum Petri honorifice dedicavit, sed causa magis hospitii quam operis sui abstulit a communi, Leche, Odynton, Standische, cum Bertona, retinens in manu sua. Tandem in archiepiscopum ecclesiae Eboracensis consecratur, qui ipsa maneria ecclesiae Eboracensi appropriavit." For the main facts the local writer here follows Florence, 1058: "Aldredus Wigorniensis episcopus ecclesiam, quam in civitate Glaworna a fundamentis construxerat, in honorem principis Apostolorum Petri, honorifice dedicavit; et postea, regis licentia, Wlstanum Wigornensem monachum a se ordinatum, abbatem constituit ibidem."

<sup>4</sup> The local history records this restitution with great glee. "Anno Domini millesimo nonagesimo quinto, dominica in ramis palmarum, venerabilis Eboracensis archiepiscopus Thomas reddidit Glovernensi ecclesiae villas Lech, Odyntunam, Standyesche, Bertonam semetipsum graviter inculpando, pectus tundendo, genu flectendo, quia injuste eas tamdiu tenuerat. Haec acta sunt in praesentia domini Serlonis abbatis in capitulo monachorum, multis praesentibus et gaudentibus."—*Hist. et Cart.*, i., 11.

some prelates of his nation, climb up into his English sheepfold in some irregular way. He succeeded, six years after King William came into England, to an abbey lawfully vacant by the death of Abbot Wulfstan on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> The motives of such a pilgrimage in the early years of Norman occupation are left unexplained. Did he go simply for his own soul's health, or because Ealdred had gone before him, or because he found Sheriff Urse of Abetot, who ruled over Gloucestershire as well as Worcestershire, too unpleasant a neighbour? In any case the act sounds like a forsaking of his immediate flock at a dangerous time. Anyhow he went; he died; and, according to the usual but not universal practice of the Conqueror's reign, a Norman took his place. Serlo, once a secular canon of Avranches, than a monk of Saint Michael-in-peril-of-the-sea, placed by the Conqueror in the abbatial stall of Saint Peter's, is found allying himself in a bond of spiritual brotherhood with his diocesan, the English Saint Wulfstan, and with several other abbots both of Norman and of English birth.<sup>2</sup> We cannot be certain whether Serlo did or did not understand the English of the document to which he set his seal; the document itself shows that the Norman abbot did not, according to the fanciful romance which has displaced the real history of these times, look on his English neighbours as Saxon swine. The praises of Serlo, as a model of all monastic perfection, are sung both in prose and verse. He was a wall of the Church, a sword of virtue, a trumpet of righteousness.

"Ecclesiæ murus cecidit, Serlone cadente,  
Virtutis gladius, buccina justitiæ."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 9.

<sup>2</sup> This is that precious document which is printed by Mr. Hart in the Introduction to the third volume of the *Gloucester Chartulary*, p. xviii., on which I have enlarged, *Norman Conquest*, iv. 382. But I ever wonder more and more how any man could so confuse his Wulfstans as to see a document of the time of Cnut in an engagement entered into by perfectly well-known men who say "We willað urum woruld hlaforde Willelme cininge and Mahthilde bære hlæfdian holde beon for Gode and for worulde."

<sup>3</sup> The epigram on Serlo by Godfrey, Prior of Winchester, is copied in the *Chartulary*. It is also quoted by William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, v., 441.



He found something at Gloucester to reform and to complete. Owing perhaps to the absence of Abbot Wulfstan, he found at Saint Peter's only two monks of full age and eight young novices. He seems to have filled up vacancies with his own countrymen, Peter the prior we may set down as certainly a stranger, and Odo the cellarer is more likely to have been a French Eudes than an English Odda.<sup>1</sup> He also found something to rebuild. And this brings us to another side of our story; with Ealdred we get our first definite portion of architectural works in Saint Peter's minster. With Serlo we get our first glimpses of Saint Peter's minster that still abides.

Now it is certain that there was a church of some kind, a predecessor, however humble, of the cathedral church that now is, at least from the days of Osric, during the time of the abbesses and of the secular canons. But more than this we cannot say, except that it contained an altar of Saint Petronilla.<sup>2</sup> The great church of Gloucester cannot, like Bradford and Jarrow, show the actual building—it cannot, like York and Ripon, show historical notices and a few abiding fragments—it cannot even, like Winchester, show an elaborate poetical description, of a church four hundred or one hundred years older than the Norman Conquest. We have seen that in 1058 Ealdred dedicated a church which he had from the foundations, and we know that there was a church earlier than his. This is all that we can say; even of Ealdred's church we have no description. We are told indeed, on no very good authority,<sup>3</sup> though the statement is in itself in no way unlikely, that the church of Ealdred stood on a different

<sup>1</sup> The cellarer Odo became a monk in 1077, and, according to the *Chartulary*, (i., 11) did much for the increase of the possessions of the abbey. Peter the prior (i., 13) succeeded Serlo in the abbacy on his death in 1104.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Chartulary*, Osric was buried "in ecclesia sancti Petri coram altari sanctæ Petronillæ in aquilonari parte ejusdem monasterii, anno Domini septingentesimo vicesimo nono." *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 5.

<sup>3</sup> In the "*Memoriale Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Gloucestriæ Compendiarium*," in the *Monasticon*, i., 564: "Edwardi Confessoris tempore, Aldredus Wigornensis episcopus ejusdem ecclesiæ novum inchoavit fundamentum, a loco quo prius steterat paullo remotius et urbis lateri magis contiguum."

site from the earlier church, and nearer to the wall of the city. This statement is slightly puzzling. The existing church is something more than near to the Roman wall.<sup>1</sup> It actually stands over its north-west corner. It is not as at Lincoln, at Le Mans, and at Bourges, where the church was built near to but within the wall, and where later enlargements of the church called for the destruction of part of the wall. Gloucester abbey, as it now stands, both the church and the conventual buildings, seems to have been built without any regard to the Roman wall, as if that wall had already passed away. The greater part of the conventual buildings, the gateway, the abbot's house on the other side of the small and now hidden stream, part of the cloister and of the buildings round the cloister, all lie outside of the line of ancient Glevum. And they not only lie outside of it; they lie in a manner on both sides of it; they lie round that north-west angle of the *chester* which the minster itself actually covers. Where then stood the church that was before Ealdred? Within or without the wall? The elder site, it is implied, was further from the wall; did Ealdred bring it nearer to its outer or to its inner face? This question is by no means easy to answer, and it is further complicated by another. Does the present church of Gloucester or any part of it stand on the site of the church of Ealdred? By the time when the oldest church of which we have any part remaining came into being, the Roman wall, or at least this corner of it, must have pretty well passed away. And this looks as if it had done so long before. For though the site of the church may have been changed, though it may even have been twice changed, the change would not be to any great distance. It would be translated only from one part of the ecclesiastical precinct to another. I can give no positive answer to the question; but it may well be that the unusual, though not unique, position of the conventual buildings at Gloucester, on the north side of the church, may have had something to do with these changes in the site of the church itself.

<sup>1</sup> See the plan of Glevum in Mr. Bellows' paper on the Ancient Wall of Gloucester, *Proceedings of the Cotteswold Field Club*, vol. vi., p. 171.

The first thing that we do know for certain is that, in the year 1089, thirty-one years only after the dedication of Ealdred's church, Serlo, the first Norman abbot, began the building of a new church, which was itself dedicated in 1100.<sup>1</sup> In this building there is no reason to think that any part of Ealdred's church was preserved; it may even have been on a different site, as we know to have been the case with Saint Wulfstan's church at Worcester. Now why was there a re-building of a church which was still almost new? Professor Willis was misled into thinking that it was, as at Canterbury and York, because of a fire in 1087.<sup>2</sup> But I have shown that there is no evidence for any such fire; and only a few years later, the church of Gloucester was burned once or twice, without feeling any need to be re-built on that account. The reason is not very far to seek for any one who has really mastered the history of architecture during the eleventh century. I need not go through that history for the thousandth time. I must beg to refer, once for all, to the architectural chapter in my fifth volume.<sup>3</sup> The simple fact is that the Norman prelates pulled down and rebuilt the English churches mainly because they thought them too small. But the fact that

<sup>1</sup> The work of Serlo is recorded by Florence, 1100, "Idibus Julii die Dominica, ecclesia, quam venerandæ memoriæ abbas Serlo a fundamentis construxerat Glawornæ, ab episcopis Samsone Wigornensi, Gundulfo Hrofensi, Gerardo Herefordensi, et Herveo Bancornensi, dedicata est magno cum honore." It was therefore (see *Will. Ruf.*, ii., 517) while the church was in its first freshness, and the minds of its inmates even doubtless in a special fervour of devotion, that the vision was seen and the sermon preached which foretold the fall of the Red King. William of Malmesbury has two panegyrics on Serlo, to some extent in the same words; *Gesta Regum*, v. 441, *Gesta Pontificum*, iv., 155, "Et, ne Anglia expers boni putetur, quis possit præterire Serlonem abbatem Glocestrensem, qui locum illum ex humili et pene nullo ad gloriosum provectum extulit? Nota est omnibus Anglis Glocestrensis discreta religio, quam infirmus possit suspicere, nec possit fortis centemnere." According to William of Malmesbury, Serlo found only three monks. The *Chartulary* reckons "duos ibi tantum perfectæ ætatis monachos et circiter octavos juvenes parvos." This is brought in the *Gesta Pontificum* with an eloquent panegyric on Gloucester and Gloucestershire, and William here adds the history of Saint Oswald's, whose canons, it seemed, complained that Archbishop Thomas had given their lands to the monks of Saint Peters.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæological Journal*, xvii., 335.

<sup>3</sup> *Norman Conquest*, cap. xxvi.



Ealdred's church was thought too small, and was therefore pulled down, proves something about it. It proves that, of the two types of church which were in use side by side in the days of the Confessor, Ealdred had followed the elder type. He had not conformed to the new Norman fashions, vast size among them, which were coming in after the example of the King's own church at Westminster. He had, like Earl Odda at Deerhurst, stuck to the older traditions of the country, to the smaller scale and the closer following of Italian models. His church in fact was built in the Primitive Romanesque style, the style common to England with Germany, Italy, and Burgundy, not in the newly-developed Norman style of northern Gaul. Therefore neither its scale nor its style suited the ideas of Abbot Serlo. It was condemned, and the minster that now stands was begun. Eleven years later, in the last year of the reign of William Rufus, the last year of the eleventh century, the new church of Saint Peter of Gloucester stood ready for its hallowing.

I have said already that, in my judgement at least, there is no reason to think that any part of the church of Ealdred was preserved in the rebuilding by Serlo. It is needful to say a word or two on this head, because there are appearances in the crypt which have been taken, and not without plausibility, as signs that in that part of the church we have, not an original work of Serlo, but a work of Ealdred recast by Serlo. Now it is quite certain that there is in the crypt work of two dates, of two Norman dates, not counting the great props, of the fourteenth century or later, which were carried down into the crypt to support the new work on the upper floor. There are arches built in under other arches, and imposts which hide or disguise earlier imposts. And in the central walk of the crypt, there are small columns which have been thought to belong to an earlier date than the main vault and its supports, to be in short part of Ealdred's work preserved or used up again by Serlo. But though there are manifestly two different dates of Norman work, though it is plain that there has been some change since the earliest work in the crypt was begun, there is no reason to think that this difference marks any real difference of date. The local chronicle records an

earthquake during the time when Serlo's work was going on,<sup>1</sup> and it is far more likely that the work, while still imperfect, was damaged by the earthquake, and that the changes that are now to be seen simply mark the repairs which were thus made needful. The capitals which have been looked on as Ealdred's are Norman, though early Norman. I have already said that Ealdred's church, consecrated in 1058, might easily have been in the early Norman style, but that the mere fact of its rebuilding seems to show that it was not. At all events there is no need to think that the capitals are his, nor can I see any special temptation to think so. The local knowledge of Florence, whose English feelings would surely have been well pleased to record the survival of any part of the English fabric, is witness enough that, short as was the time that Ealdred's church had stood, it altogether gave way to the creation of Serlo.

At this point there comes a very important question, How much of the church was built at the time of the dedication in the year 1100? It is sometimes assumed that in all these cases it was only a fragment that was first consecrated; that the parts absolutely needful for the monastic services, the presbytery and choir, were finished and consecrated, and that then the rest of the building was carried on more leisurely. And there is no doubt that this often was the case. But it is just as clear that in many other churches another rule was followed, and that the building that was consecrated was a church complete in all its parts. It was clearly so with Eadward's church at Westminster and with Lanfranc's church at Canterbury.<sup>2</sup> It was clearly so with the Conqueror's church at Caen; it was seemingly not so with the church of his queen.<sup>3</sup> Without laying down any strict rule either way, it is plain that, when a church was altogether new without any predecessor, and again when a church was gradually

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 11. "Et eodem anno, iiii. idus Augusti, factus est terræ-motus."

<sup>2</sup> See the passages from Eadmer and William of Malmesbury, commented on in *Norman Conquest*, iv., 359.

<sup>3</sup> See *Norman Conquest*, iii., 107.

rebuilt on its old site, it was convenient to have some part ready for divine service as soon as might be, while, when a church was rebuilt on a new site, as Saint Wulfstan rebuilt the church of Worcester, the old church could remain in use till the new one was thoroughly completed. When I say "thoroughly completed" I do not necessarily mean brought to an ideal perfection in every point. It might be left to a future time to carry up the towers to their full height, and, for good constructive reasons, it commonly was left to a future time to add the stone vault, where a stone vault was designed. I mean that the ground-plan was completed, that all the essential parts of a church were there, transepts and nave, no less than presbytery and choir. Now under which of these rules did the church of Gloucester come? Eleven years is perhaps quite long enough for its building, when we remember that Lanfranc built Christ Church in seven years, and that it took William of Saint-Calais only three years to build the eastern limb and lantern-space of Durham abbey, with the eastern sides of the transepts, and so much of the nave as to form a gigantic buttress.<sup>1</sup> Now there is no hint in the local chronicle of any additions being made to the building dedicated in 1100. It is singular that two fires, in 1101 and in 1122, are recorded, by national as by local writers, to have burned the city and monastery of Gloucester, and it is distinctly said that the church was burned.<sup>2</sup> But every one who is used to the language of these times knows with what wonderful laxity phrases like these are used. Doubtless some damage was done; the wooden roof might be burned off, and the lead on it—if there was any lead—melted; but the church itself was not burned down; at least if it was, it is passing strange

<sup>1</sup> See the passages quoted in *Norman Conquest*, v., 631.

<sup>2</sup> Florence, 1101. "Civitas Glaworna cum principali monasterio, et aliis viii. idus jun. feria quinta, incendio conflagravit." The *Chartulary*, i., 12, places this in 1102. The burning in 1122 is recorded by Florence and in the *Chartulary*; but we have a minute account of it in the *Chronicle* itself. "And on þone Lenten tyde þær toforen forbearn se burch on Gleawecestre þa hwile þe þa munecas sungen þære messe, and se dæne hafde ongunnan þone godspel P'terrens Ihc þa com se fir on fenweard þone stepel and forbearde ealle þe minstre and ealle þa gersumes þe þær binnen wæron fuoruton feawe bec and iii. mæssehekeles. þæt wes þes dæis viij. iii. Idus Mr."



that there is no notice of the rebuilding of any part of the church. It is still less needful to show that nothing can be inferred from the fact that in 1239 the church was dedicated, in obedience to the general order for the dedication of all churches that remained undedicated.<sup>1</sup> Nobody can fancy that either the Norman choir or the Norman nave was then newly built. If the nave was not built before 1100, it was built in the twelfth century, and early in the twelfth century. And, if it was not built before 1100, its building is strictly unrecorded. At Durham, for instance, we have the distinct record of the carrying on of the work to a certain point by William of Saint-Calais, and of its completion in after times. Here the dedication under Serlo is our only guide till much later times. We have to suppose that all mention of so important a work as the building of the nave is left out in a chronicle which seems carefully to enter all other changes of the fabric. On the other hand the appearance of the building itself might lead us to think that the eastern and western limbs could not possibly be parts of the same work. There is little or no difference of style; but there is every difference of design. The eastern limb follows the usual proportion of an early Norman minster with low arcades and a triforium. The nave is utterly different. Vast round pillars of most unusual height, far higher than those even of Durham, support a small triforium and clerestory. The contrast is most marked. Either the nave was built very soon after the presbytery, by another architect whose ideas were wholly different from those of the architect of the presbytery, or else the single architect of the two sought to startle all beholders by making the greatest possible contrast in design between the two main parts of his building. It may throw some light upon the matter if we compare the church of Gloucester with its neighbour, in many points its fellow, at Tewkesbury. At the present moment the general effect of the two minsters, not taking in the difference of scale, has much more of contrast than likeness. Outside we might almost say that they have nothing in common, except the presence of polygonal chapels round the east end, and

<sup>1</sup> See Matthew Paris, iii., 638., ed. Luard.

even there those at Gloucester are part of the original work, while at Tewkesbury they have been rebuilt. Tewkesbury keeps its apse, while at Gloucester the apse has given way to the hugest of east windows. Tewkesbury keeps its vast Norman mid-tower, which at Gloucester has given way to two successors, in turn, of the thirteenth and of the fifteenth century. The west fronts we cannot compare; it may be that the great western arch of Tewkesbury had a fellow at Gloucester: but, if so, the position between the two towers must have given it a different, and, we may feel sure, a better effect within.

The first thing at Tewkesbury that strikes us is the crushing effect of lowness, which we do not feel even in the nave of Gloucester, while the eastern limb is one of the loftiest in England. At Gloucester the whole eastern limb has been veiled with work of a later date; at Tewkesbury the ancient piers remain undisguised, with work of an intermediate date built upon them. But most of these differences are due to the later changes in the two churches having taken quite different courses. It is easy to see that the original Romanesque churches must have had very much in common, and that in some points Gloucester and Tewkesbury must have agreed—they still do agree—with one another, and differed from all other churches everywhere else. The apparent lowness of Tewkesbury is largely due, partly to its great proportional breadth, but much more to the way in which the later vaulting of the nave has been put on, which goes far to hide the clerestory, and which brings the roof far too low down. One of the most singular features of the interior at Gloucester, one on which we shall have presently to comment at length, is that the effect of a central lantern is almost wholly got rid of. As the church now stands, this is directly owing to the changes of the fourteenth century; but a comparison with Tewkesbury will show that the peculiarity was suggested by the character of the original building. It would be hard to find a Romanesque church where the central tower has so little of the effect of a central lantern as it has at Tewkesbury. The choir was of course under the tower; but the architect was so bent on making a choir that he almost forgot that there was to be a tower over it. In order to gain a better backing

for stalls, the eastern and western arches of the tower spring from a flat wall, no projection at all being given to their supports. So it is at Tewkesbury; it is easy to see that it must have been the same at Gloucester also. East and west of the lantern, the same contrast between the two parts of the Romanesque building, which is so striking at Gloucester, is to be seen at Tewkesbury also. Thoroughly recast as the whole eastern limb has been, it is easy to see that there too the Norman church had the low pier, and therefore doubtless the large triforium. The nave, on the other hand, shows the peculiarities of the Gloucester nave in a still more exaggerated degree. The huge pillars at Tewkesbury have become everything; the clerestory is very small, the triforium is shouldered almost out of being. Small at Gloucester, it is less at Tewkesbury; it has sunk to a series of distinct pairs of small arches. Are we to hold that the Gloucester nave is the elder, that the nave of Tewkesbury is the work of the same architect as that of Gloucester, or of some other architect who admired his work, and that the later building purposely shows the peculiarities of the elder, carried to a still further extreme? Or are we to think that Tewkesbury is the older, that the architect of Gloucester, whether the same or another, admired the tall massive pillars of Tewkesbury, but thought that the triforium and clerestory had been rather hardly treated, and sought therefore in his later work to bring them back to a somewhat greater measure of importance? Some direct connexion there cannot fail to be, when, in so very important a feature, two neighbouring minsters stand together and stand pretty well apart from all others. This feature of amazing height given to the pillars, a height which goes far in the massive Romanesque to forestall the light Perpendicular of three hundred years later, reminds us somewhat of Tournus and of Saint Abbondio at Como; but it will hardly be found so thoroughly carried out in any other great English church as it is in these two. I cannot say that I admire it; to my eye the creator of the matchless pile at Durham hit on exactly the right proportion for the style which he first carried to perfection. But there it is at Gloucester and Tewkesbury, and hardly anywhere else, and at Tewkesbury in a measure which



leaves Gloucester far behind. This fact is certainly not accidental; the two neighbouring churches must have been building at the same time, and the founder of one was a chief benefactor of the other.

The dates in Tewkesbury history that concern us for this purpose are two. The monks entered the new monastery in 1102, and the church was consecrated in 1122.<sup>1</sup> This almost looks as if the former entry referred only to the monks taking possession of their domestic quarters, leaving the church to be built within the next twenty years. Yet it is perhaps not necessary to adopt this view. The word "monasterium," without being necessarily confined to that meaning, has a great tendency to mean the church, sometimes in direct distinction from the other buildings. And the works of Robert Fitz-hamon at Tewkesbury are spoken of in language which would seem rather out of place if he did not even begin the chief building of all.<sup>2</sup> And Robert Fitz-hamon is not likely to have done much anywhere after 1106. For in that year he received a wound in the wars of Normandy, which did not take away his life, but which seems to have left him for the rest of his days helpless in mind and body.<sup>3</sup> Again, in the west front of Tewkesbury we see one of those singular bits of evidence which show that the Norman builders, while bringing in their new architectural fashions, did not scruple sometimes to adopt the earlier fashions of the conquered island. The massive round pillar so characteristic of English Norman is, I feel sure, a

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of Tewkesbury*, *Ann. Mon.*, i., 44, 1102. "Hic primum in novum monasterium ingressi sumus." It is added, "et ecclesia sancti Petri Gloucestræ igne cremata. Obiit Serlo abbas Gloucestræ."

<sup>2</sup> Will. Malmes, *Gest. Reg.*, v., 398. "Robertus monasterium Theoces-biriæ suo favore non facile memoratu quantum exaltant et ædificiorum decor, et monachorum charitas, adventantium rapit oculos et allicit animos." William hopes that this exaltation of Tewkesbury might be some atonement for the burning of the church of Bayeux, which was done seemingly, not by Robert himself, but by King Henry on his behalf.

<sup>3</sup> William had said just before, "conto iotus tempora, hebetatusque ingenio, non paucio tempore quasi captus mente supervixit." This was his punishment for the sacrilege at Bayeux.

feature which the Norman builders in England borrowed from the older national style; but, at Tewkesbury, as at Saint Albans, as at Oxford, we see in works of Norman date, of the foundation of men of Norman birth, details which still more distinctively belong to the earlier day. These are the baluster-shafts in the turrets which seem to carry us back to Earls Barton, and even to Monkwearmouth. There, the last finish of the west front, must be in date about the latest Romanesque work in the church. And surely so primitive a feature is more likely to belong to a building of 1102 than to a building of 1122, when the earlier Norman forms had begun to pass away under the improvements of Bishop Roger of Salisbury.<sup>1</sup> And, though the dedication in 1122 certainly suggests that the church was then only newly finished, it does not prove that it was. The order of 1239, for the dedication of churches which remained undedicated, an order to which we shall have again to refer, shows that the ceremony was often strangely delayed. I am therefore on the whole inclined to believe—though I stand ready to be changed to any other belief by the smallest amount of positive evidence—that the churches of Gloucester and Tewkesbury both belong to the reign of William Rufus and to the last years of the eleventh century, rather than to the reign of Henry the First and to the first years of the twelfth. The history of the two cannot be kept asunder. The two churches were in building at the same time, and both show the same peculiarity; both follow the usual proportion of the time in the eastern part, both forsake it in the western part for a proportion peculiar or nearly so to these two churches. That the church of Gloucester was built on a larger scale than that of Tewkesbury, that it had the finish of western towers which Tewkesbury had not, is the natural result of the greater wealth of Gloucester. The churches were building at the same time, and, as there must be a reason for the points of likeness, there must be a reason for the points of unlikeness. The

<sup>1</sup> I have spoken of the works of Roger of Salisbury, *Norman Conquest*, v., 638. The great passage is William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, v., 408, where he describes Roger's buildings as "aedificia spatio diffusa, numero pecuniarum sumptuosa, specie formosissima; ita juste composito ordine lapidum ut junctura perstringat intuitum, ei totam maceriam unum mentiatur esse saxum."

two buildings cannot fail to have influenced one another. Either the nave of Tewkesbury is an exaggeration of the nave of Gloucester, or the nave of Gloucester is a softening down, so to speak, of the nave of Tewkesbury. On the whole, the former seems the more likely conjecture of the two.

The two churches of Gloucester and Tewkesbury are brought together by the connexion of both with a prominent man of the time, who was at Gloucester merely a benefactor to a church which already held a high position, while at Tewkesbury, confused and puzzling as is the early history of the house, it is plain that he may claim the rank of at least a second founder. This is Robert Fitz-hamon, lord of Gloucester, lord of Glamorgan, father-in-law of a lord of Gloucester and Glamorgan more famous than himself. He had so much to do both with Gloucester and with Tewkesbury that it is hard to avoid the guess that the singular analogies in the style of the two minsters are owing to his taste or that of his architect. However this may be, he fills a great place in local history, both at Gloucester and elsewhere. A favourite both of William Rufus and of Henry the First, he belongs wholly to their generation; he plays no part in the reign of William the Great. The Gloucester and Gloucestershire entries in Domesday do not contain his name, nor does he appear, as his brother Hamon does at Colchester, in any other part of the Survey. A good many other Normans appear as holding houses in Gloucester; but they hardly number among them any man of first-rate importance. One however we find whom we should hardly have looked for, the Norman-born but English-minded Bishop Osbern of Exeter.<sup>1</sup> With regard to the state of the city, the royal dues, at least as regarded payments in money, had been, as in so many other places, raised by the Conqueror. To King Edward Gloucester had paid thirty-six pounds; to King William it paid sixty. But then it might almost seem that the increased money payment was, in part at least, a composition for payments

<sup>1</sup> *Domesday*, 162. "Osbernus episcopus tenet terram et mansiones quas Edmarus tenuit. Reddit x solidos cum alia consuetudine," and again, "Osbernus episcopus i mansionem de xli denariis." I have spoken of him, *Norman Conquest*, iv., 373.



in kind which had been made to the native king, for the honey, the dickers of iron, the bars of iron to make nails for the King's ships, a fitting tribute for a city which stood so near to the Forest of Dean.<sup>1</sup> But for my purpose it is of more importance that a castle arose, which involved the destruction of sixteen houses, besides fourteen houses which lay waste.<sup>2</sup> This was a small measure of destruction compared with what happened at Oxford and in some other cities. Gloucester, we may at least infer, was not taken by storm.

The name of Robert Fitz-hamon leads us almost naturally back to the name of Brihtric son of Ælfgar, the Englishman whose lands passed so largely, though not directly, into his hands. We are not called on now to discuss the romantic tale about Brihtric and Queen Matilda, how the love of the Flemish princess, rejected by the Englishman, turned to hatred, how, when her turn came, she took vengeance on the man who had scorned her, and procured his imprisonment and the confiscation of his lands. One feature of the legend is strange enough. Matilda is not set before us as doing all this with her own hands; she employs the King her husband as her tool. Now it is not quite like William the Great to be made use of in this kind of way, even by his own wife; and one cannot help thinking that he might have been better pleased if his wife had shown herself utterly indifferent to Brihtric than he could have been at finding that another man still occupied, after any fashion, so large a share of her thoughts. The story in short is one of those which we cannot take upon ourselves positively to deny, but of which we may safely say that they rest on no sufficient evidence. What is really certain is that Brihtric was a great land-owner in these parts and in other parts, and that his lands, both here and elsewhere, had a strong tendency to pass into the hands of Queen Matilda. This would be strong corroborative evidence for a story which had any decent direct

<sup>1</sup> The payments made by the city of Gloucester are given in *Domesday*, 162. The most notable are "xii sextaria mellis ad mensuram ejusdem burgi et xxxvi dicras ferri et c virgas ferreas ductiles ad clavos navium regis."

<sup>2</sup> *Domesday*, 162. "Sedecim domus erant ubi sedet castellum, quae modo desunt, et in burgo civitatis sunt wastatae xiiii. domus."

evidence to start with ; but here the authority for the story is on the very weakest, and it is just as likely that the tale grew up to account for the fact that Matilda held so large a share of Brihtric's lands.

But, if the lands of Brihtric had a tendency to pass into the hands, first of Queen Matilda, and then of Robert Fitz-hamon, that tendency was shared by more distant lands to which neither Brihtric nor Matilda had ever made a claim. The founder of Tewkesbury, the benefactor of Gloucester, was also the conqueror of Glamorgan, and the churches of South Wales had no call to look on him as either founder or benefactor. In them he found an easy means of being munificent at the cost of others. The venerable foundations of the Briton were employed to increase the wealth of houses in England to which they were a source of wealth and nothing more. Among several others the famous churches of Saint Cadoc at Llanearfan and of Saint Iltud at Llantwit became a possession of the monks of Gloucester, and Llanearfan is spoken of over and over again in this chartulary.<sup>1</sup> The renowned son-in-law and successor of Robert Fitz-hamon, the greatest of the lords of Glamorgan, the first of the Earls of Gloucester, Robert, the son of King Henry, practised the same kind of spurious bounty, and further enriched the great church of his earldom and city with the spiritual spoils of the helpless Briton.<sup>2</sup> Other possessions of the same kind, gifts of benefactors of historic name, were added to the vast belongings of the house of Saint Peter. Among them, among the dependent priories of the great abbey, we find the precious church of Saint Michael at Ewenny, the fortified church, the divided church, with

<sup>1</sup> The entries about Llanearfan are endless. The earliest is in the *History*, i., 93. "Robertus filius Hamonis dedit ecclesiam Sancti Cadoci de Lanearvan Deo et ecclesie Sancti Petri Gloucestrie et Penhon quindecim hidas terræ, rege Willelmo confirmante, tempore Serlonis abbatis."

<sup>2</sup> We have a list of Earl Robert's gifts in the *History*, i., 115. "Robertus comes Gloucestrie dedit ecclesie Sancti Petri Gloucestrie Treygof. Idem Robertus comes Gloucestrie, filius regis, dedit monachis Sancti Petri Gloucestrie Treygof et Penhon, cum aliis pertinentiis suis. Insuper quietos eos fecit, et homines suos, insuper et prioratum de Ewenny a tholoneo per totam terram suam, tempore Walteri de Lacy abbatis."

its barrel-vaulted choir carrying our thoughts to Clermont and Toulouse, that now unique monument, more precious in its decay than Arundel and Dunster, where the "restorer" has so successfully laboured to wipe out the great historic features. Maurice of London—the chartulary keeps the Latin or English form rather than the more usual *Londres*—is the giver, and Earl Robert confirms the gift.<sup>1</sup> More distant still, not in almost neighbouring Morganwg, but far away by the Atlantic shore of Cardigan, Gilbert of Clare gave the church of Llanbadarn, once the seat of an ancient British bishopric, to become another cell of the house of Saint Peter of Gloucester.<sup>2</sup> Not fully in the British land, but close on its march, Harold, son of Ralph—Ralph of Mantes, the timid earl of King Eadward's day—Harold of Ewias, was the giver of another dependent priory in his own castle. The grant is an instructive document, signed, as becomes a charter drawn up so near to the border, by a crowd of witnesses, whose names stamp them as belonging to the various races of the land, British, English, and Norman.<sup>3</sup> The abbey even acquired dependencies in another city. As the abbey of Battle held patronage at Exeter, as the Archbishops of

<sup>1</sup> Ewenny and its priory is mentioned in the *History and Chartulary* over and over again. In ii. 11, we find the grant of Maurice of London confirmed by Earl Robert.

<sup>2</sup> The grant of Llanbadarn appears in i., 106. "Anno Domini millesimo centesimo undecimo, Gilbertus filius Ricardi, unus de præcipuis Angliæ principibus, dedit ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Gloucestricæ terram et ecclesiam Sancti Paterni in Wallia." In the full charter in ii., 73, we find that the grant was made "ad prioratum construendum apud Sanctum Paternum."

<sup>3</sup> The grant of Ewias by Harold son of Ralph, also comes over and over again. The signatures to the grant of the church of Saint Michael come in i., 286. They are a wonderful study of nomenclature. High up we find "Daniel decanus, Nicholas Kenegain, et frater ejus Bledien; Radulphus capellanus; Selid et Joseph sacerdotes." Towards the end we light upon "Rogerus Walensis," while the list ends with a most instructive gathering of men of various races, "Rogerus filius Deod, Goffridus filius Davidis, Ricardus de Croilli, Walterus cum barba, Aluredus de Lecche, Geroldus de Ledene, Rogerus Cailli, Wluricus Mordefrater, Radulfus de Overe, Celemon, Meinardus, cum aliis." One would specially like to know something more of "Wulfric Mordefrater," though we can hardly think that his record was creditable.



York held patronage in Gloucester itself, so Walter of Lacy gave to Saint Peter of Gloucester the priory of Saint Peter or Saint Guthlac in the castle of Hereford.<sup>1</sup> Another dependent house on the border arose at Kilpeck, where we still see the traces of the castle and one of the most enriched of the smaller churches of the twelfth century, by the gift of a certain Hugh whose father is described as *Willelmus Normannus*.<sup>2</sup> Are we in this to see simply a William born in Normandy, a definition which in that generation must have fitted a good many dwellers in England? Or, though to some the suggestion may sound like a paradox, does the name *Normannus* in truth rather mark a man of English birth, a namesake of Northman, son of Earl Leofwine and brother of Earl Leofric?<sup>3</sup> We see the advance, not only of the abbey of Gloucester, but of the Benedictine rule generally, when, by the authority of Archbishop Theobald and of Gilbert Foliot Bishop of Hereford—once himself Abbot of Gloucester and to be Bishop of London—the canons of Bromfield in his diocese surrender their church to the abbey of Gloucester, and themselves become monks under its obedience.<sup>4</sup> And nearer home, by the gift of Roger of Berkeley—of the elder house of Berkeley before the coming of Robert the son of Harding the son of Eadnoth—Leonard Stanley, with its admirable specimen of a Norman conventual church of the smallest type, was added to the tale of dependent priories which looked up to the great abbey. Thus, in the course of the twelfth century, the house of Saint Peter had waxed rich and powerful; it had become

<sup>1</sup> See the grant of Saint Guthlac or Saint Peter at Hereford in i., 84, 85. In i., 42, is an instructive document of Abbot Thoky in 1317, touching the relations of all these dependent priories.

<sup>2</sup> "Hugo filius Willelmi Normanni" appears as the giver of Kilpeck in i., 91, and as a witness to the grant of Ewias in i., 286.

<sup>3</sup> On the name I would refer to *William Rufus* i., 140, where I have noticed a curious misconception of Thierry's.

<sup>4</sup> The cession of Bromfield in 1155 appears in i., 19, 66. "Canonici de Bromfeld dederunt ecclesiam suam et se ipsos ad monachatum ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Gloucestræ." In the second entry the phrase is more singular: "Dederunt ecclesiam suam et seipsos Sancto Petro Gloucestræ ibi monachari."

the centre of a crowd of subordinate houses, specially in the British land and its borders. Gloucester became in some sort the ecclesiastical head of the neighbouring lands of South Wales, somewhat to the wrong of their natural mother church at Llandaff. When Robert, once Duke of the Normans, died in Earl Robert's castle of Cardiff, it was to the city which formed the earldom of his keeper that his body was brought for burial.<sup>1</sup> He who had reigned at Rouen, who might have reigned at Jerusalem, but of whom England thrice said in a voice that none could mistake, "We will not have this man to reign over us," came in death as a kind of tribute paid by the dependent land to its spiritual mistress. And Gloucester and the coasts thereof presently found another tie to bind them to the British land. As if to retaliate the spiritual invasions of the Benedictines of Gloucester, the Austin canons of Llanthony, cruelly translated from Colchester to the deep valley of the Honddû, made their escape from this mountain prison to find a home that better suited them beneath the walls of Gloucester, almost within the shadows of its minster towers.<sup>2</sup>

I need hardly say that, in gathering together these few details, I have had the History and Chartulary of the abbey published in the Chronicles and Memorials,—the Chartulary which is attributed to Abbot Frocester, and which seems at least to have been put together in his day, always at hand. Like all documents of the kind, it has a value beyond its direct local value. In this and other such records we get constant pictures of the times, all the more valuable because they are undesigned. The Gloucester history is, till we come near to the days of the compiler, that is till the compiler becomes the original writer, less lively reading

<sup>1</sup> The local entry runs thus: "Anno Domini millesimo centesimo tricesimo quarto obiit dominus Robertus Curtehorse, comes Normanie, filius regis Willelmi conquestoris, tertio nonas Februarii, apud castrum de Kerdiff. Sed in ecclesia Sancti Petri Gloucestrie honorifice coram principali altari sepelitur." *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 15.

<sup>2</sup> The new Llanthony by Gloucester often appears in the *History and Chartulary*. In i., 140, there is a kind of treaty between the monasteries of Gloucester, Llanthony, Worcester, and Cirencester, but it is of a much more worldly kind than the treaty between Wulfstan, Serlo and their fellows T. R. W.

than some other monastic records, but it is full of knowledge to those who know how to use it. Mr. Seebohm, I see, has made good use of it to illustrate the mediæval tenures of land; I have made some use of it to illustrate the history of personal nomenclature. Of the purely local interest I need not speak; that is plain to everyone who knows anything of Gloucester or Gloucestershire. And, as having once been a seven years inhabitant of the shire, I am often well pleased to find in the chartulary notices of places which were once familiar to me. When I come to Lettice of Dursley, of whom all I can say is that her land joined that of Richard of Slymbridge, and when I find a document witnessed by Peris of Stinchcombe—the tongue is French, and I presume he was Peter—I feel among old neighbours.<sup>1</sup>

But I must go back, of course with the Chartulary before me, to the history of the abbey, and above all of the fabric of its church. We see the minster of Saint Peter, showing outside the usual outline of a Norman minster, the apse with its surrounding chapels, oddly enough polygonal in shape, the mid-tower over the choir, the lesser towers flanking the west front. Within we see one of the most striking contrasts to be anywhere seen between two parts of the same building which differ not at all in architectural style, and which cannot differ more than a few years in actual date. The flat wooden ceiling, such as we see at Peterborough and Saint Albans, covers all the four limbs. Of any change in the fabric in the course of the twelfth century the local history tells us nothing. And yet it is strange that it should have nothing to tell. For we have entries, and those entries, beside recording grants to the abbey and giving occasional notices of national events, seem to deal mainly with the endless fires which vexed church and city, but which do not seem to

<sup>1</sup> The abbey grants "Willelmo Touche de Slymbrugge, tres acras terræ arabilis in villa de Cleyhangre quas Walterus filius Ricardi de Slymbrigge nobis dedit et carta sua confirmavit, et quarum quidem una acra jacet juxta terram Galfridi de Allewelle ex parte unæ terram Lætitiæ de Durseleya." Peris appears to have been an honourable person, if not a knight; he comes in a list of witnesses described as *sires*, and along with him are put "Robert de Berkele, Johan de Gloucestre, Johan de Ollepenne." *Hist. et Cart.*, ii., 218.



have led to any re-building of the fabric. At this stage, with a single exception, we do not get such living pictures of the abbots and monks of Gloucester as we do of the abbots and monks of Saint Albans. Abbot Walter of Lacy lives in a picture clearly drawn by a contemporary, but of the famous Gilbert Foliot we hear far less than we should have looked for. Yet Gloucester has its local story. Like most other Christian cities, it had its tale of the Christian child tortured to death by Jews. The fate of Hugh of Lincoln, of William of York, of William Norwich, was also in 1168 the fate of the boy Harold of Gloucester.<sup>1</sup> But the tale is told in a somewhat unusual tone, as if the chronicler had less undoubting faith than he ought to have had. And, taking the story as it stands, there really seems very little evidence to bring the crime home to the Jews beyond the assumption that none but Jews were likely to do it. The young martyr, whose very name keeps on English memories, was buried in the minster before the altars of two English saints, Saint Eadmund and Saint Eadward.

The name of a special votary of those English saints, whose reverence for them was in truth the only English thing about him, presently stamps itself in a marked way on the history of Gloucester. Many as were the times that kings had held their court at Gloucester, it was only once that the minster of Saint Peter beheld the crowning of a king. While the church of Serlo—if Serlo's it all be—was still untouched in its main features, the young Henry the Third received the kingly unction within its walls from the hands of the Poitevin Bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches.<sup>2</sup> The two great

<sup>1</sup> The story is told in the *History* at great length under the year 1168. Some of the expressions are remarkable: "A Judæis furtim plurimorum opinione, nono kalendas Martii sublatus fertur," and presently: "nullus quippe Christianus interfuit qui vel pœnas ejusdem vidisset aut audisset nec ab ullo Judæo quicquid inde comperimus proditum fuisse." The child's body is said to have shewn signs of various kinds of torture; but there is no direct evidence against the Jews, nor yet any miracle pointing them out as the doers.

<sup>2</sup> The coronation of October 28, 1216, is duly entered in the *History* i., 24.

churches of the Hwicceian land came at that moment into special prominence; the guilty father was buried at Worcester, the as yet innocent son was crowned at Gloucester. The next time that a childish Henry received a crown from a Bishop of Winchester, it was in another land, and under circumstances exactly opposite. We can hardly venture to compare this somewhat irregular crowning at Gloucester in 1216 with the great and solemn crowning at Rheims in 1429. Yet, as one marked the crushing of the hopes of a French prince in England, the other marked the crushing of the hopes of an English prince in France. Lewis went back crownless; and the crown that was set at Paris on the head of young Henry the Sixth was vainly set indeed, when the holy oil of Remigius had already about done its work and had changed the King of Bourges into the King of France.

I said that at the time of Henry's crowning the church of Serlo was still untouched in its main features. Had we only the local chronicle to turn to, I might have said that it was wholly untouched. But an incidental reference in quite another quarter enables us to say that, before the coronation, one of the original towers had fallen, and it is not clear whether it had been rebuilt. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his life of Roger Bishop of Worcester,<sup>1</sup> who sat from 1164 to 1179, tells how the Bishop was one day saying mass at the high altar of Gloucester abbey, how, at the most solemn moment of the service, a large and tall tower at the west end of the church fell to the earth by the force of an earthquake. That is the fact that concerns us; the story is told to show the pious calmness of the bishop, who, amidst the noise, the dust, the confusion, men, women, and monks themselves, running hither and thither

<sup>1</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, vii., 64, ed. Dimock: "Contigit aliquando, praesule Rogero apud Gloverniam in Monasterio S. Petri et principali altari missam celebrante, turrem ecclesiae amplam et altam, vitio fundamenti, subito ad terram ipsa confectionis hora corruisse." The description which follows of the behaviour of the monks in the choir and of the bishop at the high altar would alone show that a west tower is meant. But the distinct statement presently follows: "Cum enim turris illa in ultima et occidua ecclesiae parte stetisset, omnes ea hora tam mulieres quam mares versus altare principale propter benedictionem episcopalem appropinquaverant, sicut pia fuerat Salvatoris dispositione provisum."

to save themselves—nobody in fact was hurt—went on with the mass unmoved. Giraldus does not tell us whether it was the north-western or the south-western tower; but we shall presently come to some entries in the local history which may throw some light on this question. These entries, hardly to be found in the twelfth century, are thick on the ground in the thirteenth. The earliest after the coronation comes in 1222, and records the building of the great eastern tower of the church of Gloucester by the work of the sacrist Helias of Hereford, whose death is recorded in 1237.<sup>1</sup> Two years after the building of the tower, comes the building of the Lady chapel in the churchyard by the gift of Ralph of Willington, a person who is several times mentioned in the cartulary, and whose wife bore a name borrowed from the royal house of Molottis, being a namesake of Olympias, mother of Alexander.<sup>2</sup> In 1239, as has been already mentioned, came a dedication of the church, in obedience to the general order which commanded the dedication of all churches which still remained undedicated. And at that dedication the chief minister was a memorable one, no other than the bishop of the diocese, Walter of Cantelupe, the patriot prelate who, six-and-twenty years later, stood by Earl Simon on the day of martyrdom at Evesham. Three years after this great rite the vault over the nave was made, not, like other works, by the hands of hired craftsmen, but by those of the monks themselves.<sup>3</sup> In 1242 we read that the

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. et Cart. i.*, 25: "Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo vicesimo secundo magna turris Gloucestrensis ecclesiæ orientalis, auxiliante Helia ejusdem monasterii sacrista, est erecta." And again, *i.*, 28: "Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo tricesimo septimo, quinto idus Novembris, obiit Helias de Herfordia monachus, qui turrin abbatie Gloucestriæ erexit, stalla monachorum antiqua construxit, conductum aque viwæ fecit."

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. et Cart. i.*, 27: "Capella Beatæ Mariæ in cimeterio, ex sumtibus Radulphi de Wylintone senioris, est consummata, quique redditum dedit quo sustentarentur imperpetuum duo presbyteri ibidem pro defunctis celebraturi." And in *i.* 59, we read how Ralph gave "unam hidam terræ in Ablintone ad sustentationem capellæ Beatæ Mariæ in abbathya quam a fundamentis construxerat." Olympias appears in the same page and in many others;

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. et Cart. i.*, 29: "Et Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo quadragesimo secundo completa est nova volta in navi ecclesiæ, non auxilio fabrorum ut primo, sed animosa virtute monachorum item in ipso loco existentium."



south-western tower was begun; at some time before 1246 it was finished.<sup>1</sup> This last entry must be taken in connexion with another under the year 1300. Then, in one of the endless fires, several parts of the conventual buildings perished, the great chamber, the cloister, and the little bell-tower—"parvum campanile."<sup>2</sup> This is the latest entry affecting the fabric of the church till we come to those changes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which gave it altogether a new character. Meanwhile much was done in the other buildings of the monastery. A new refectory was begun in 1246, and a new dormitory was begun in 1303, and finished in 1313.<sup>3</sup>

We must now look a little more minutely into the force of some of these entries. There can be little doubt that by the "Lady chapel in the churchyard" is meant a new Lady chapel at the east end of the church, the expression is an odd one. It might rather suggest such a chapel as stood against the east walk of the cloister at Wells. But I know of no reason to think that such a building ever existed at Gloucester; and, on the other hand, if Ralph Willington's chapel displaced the original finish of Serlo's east end, it has in turn given way to the existing chapel of the fifteenth century. The entries as to the towers are of more importance. The great eastern tower built in 1222 of course

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. et Cart.*, i. 29: "Et eodem anno incepta est nova turris versus occidentem in parte australi ejusdem ecclesiæ a Waltero de Sancto Johanne tunc priore ejusdem loci." The entry of its completion—"Istius (Johannis de Felda) tempore turris occidentalis a parte Australi perfecta est"—comes in the next page before the entry of 1246.

<sup>2</sup> The fire began on the Epiphany, 1300: "In abbathia Gloucestræ in una domo super meremium in magna curia abbatiæ. De cujus igne accensa fuerunt multa per abbatiæ loca, videlicet parvum campanile et magna camera et claustrum." *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. et Cart.*, i. 30, 41: "Anno Domini, mcecxli., dirutum est vetus refectorium monachorum et incepta est structura novi." "Anno Domini, mcecciii., dirutum est vetus dormitorium monachorum hujus loci circa festum Sancti Michaelis, et incepta est structura novi dormitorii." "Anno Domini, mceccxiii., novum dormitorium hujus domus circa festum Sancti Michaelis perficitur, et fratres monachi ex cellis egredientes cum lectis suis omnes se ad novum dormitorium transferunt." The sprinkling with holy water was done by David Martin, Bishop of St. David's.

means the central tower over the choir. We are left to guess whether the original Norman tower had not been carried up, whether it had given way and needed rebuilding, or whether, like a good many other towers, it was raised a stage or two more than the original builders had ever thought of. Whatever it was that Helias the sacrist did, it involved some change in the choir below the tower which made a new dedication needful. In no other way can we account for Gloucester coming among the churches to which the order of 1239 extended. Singularly enough, while all trace of the constructive work of Helias has given way before the changes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, one little trace of his ritual arrangements is still left in the shape of a small piece of woodwork among the canopies on the prior's side of the choir which is clearly part of the stallwork of the thirteenth century. With regard to the western towers, we have to put together the story in Giraldus about the fall of a western tower between 1164 and 1179, the building of the south-western tower between 1242 and 1246, and the burning of the "little campanile" in 1300. It is of course possible that the story in Giraldus refers to the south-west tower, and that the damage done about 1170 was not repaired till 1242. This at first sight seems hardly likely; and, if it is said that the repairs or rebuilding would have been noticed in the local history, the same may be said as to the fall in Bishop Roger's day which made repair or rebuilding needful. Yet here is an argument which looks that way. What is the "parvum campanile" of the entry of 1300? Is it one of the western towers, or is it a detached bell-tower? Either of these would doubtless be small as compared with the great mid-tower of Helias. And the fact that in other entries, both this and the western towers are spoken of, not as "campanile" but as "turris" cuts both ways. And, if it be said that a detached bell-tower could not be needed in a church which had a central and two western towers, there is the example of Chichester—to say nothing of Bordeaux—to prove the contrary. Still it would seem more natural to understand the words of one of the western towers of the church. Now, with the arrangements of

Gloucester abbey, where the conventual buildings lie north of the church, a fire that destroyed the cloister and the great chamber—the great chamber of the Abbot, I suppose—would be not unlikely to reach the north-western tower that stood near them. If that tower was still the original Norman tower, while the south-west tower had been rebuilt—and doubtless raised—about 1245, it would be rightly described as “*parvum campanile*.” We may conceive then that, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the west front of Gloucester abbey, like those of Chartres, of Amiens, of Canterbury till the rebuilding of the north-west tower in the present century, had two unequal towers, of an inequality so marked that the northern and more ancient was known as the “little tower.” This view fits in well with everything except the unlikelihood that in so busy a building age the monks of Gloucester should have left their south-western tower a wreck for about fifty years. If Giraldus had told us, not only that the tower that fell stood at the west-end, but at what corner of the west-end, we could argue with greater certainty.

To set down all the fires which did more or less damage to Gloucester city and monastery would be simply endless. The minster itself seems to have shared the nature of the salamander. At this particular fire of 1300, which burned the cloister and the little tower, we are told that, owing to the prayers of the crowds of people that came together, the damage went no further; the main body of the minster *was* saved.<sup>1</sup> The next year a neighbouring minster was less lucky. The church of the new Llanthony near Gloucester was utterly burned with its four towers—“*cum quatuor campanilibus*.”<sup>2</sup> What was its form? Three towers to the body and one detached? Or did it follow some of the arrangements unusual in England, as at

<sup>1</sup> “*Concurrentibus undique populis et orantibus multis, totum incendium ita celeriter impeditum est, ut magis miraculo quam auxilio magno ascriberetur.*” Giraldus Cambrensis, vol. vij., 64; Rous series.

<sup>2</sup> “*Ecclesia Lantonie juxta Gloucestriam combusta fuit totaliter usque ad muros cum quatuor campanilibus, nec aliqua remansit campana quin fundebatur aut frangebatur.*” *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 35.



Bordeaux with the four towers to the transepts, or at Andernach with the two pairs of towers, eastern and western?

We have now reached a time in which we begin to get clearer personal notions of the abbots. Under Abbot Reginald, who sat from 1263 to 1284, we hear nothing of building, but his reign was a memorable one in the history of the abbey. The house of Saint Peter was now to send forth a new colony of a kind other than its dependent priories on the Welsh border. It marks the development of the English Universities, it marks the beginnings of the collegiate system within them, that in 1283 "our house at Oxford" was founded by John Gifford.<sup>1</sup> In him the monks of Gloucester found an enlightened benefactor. It did not become them to lag behind in making the most of the advantages which were offered by the growth of learning and the opportunities for learning. They had now their own hall, Gloucester Hall, on the site of the present Worcester College, as a dwelling for such of their body as were designed to keep up the tradition of Benedictine culture in a new shape. Fourteen years later the new plantation bore fruit. The chronicle records with natural glee how William Brook, a monk of Gloucester, received the degree of doctor of divinity, another monk of the house disputing with him. Abbot Gamages of Gloucester was present with a great train, so were a goodly company of other abbots and monks, while both those present and most of the prelates of the province of Canterbury loaded the inceptor with gifts.<sup>2</sup> Three years later Dr. Brook, then prior, had the pleasure of admitting his former opponent Laurence Hanson to the

<sup>1</sup> The foundation of Gloucester Hall, "domus nostra apud Oxoniam," is reported in the History and Chartulary, i. 32. "A nobili viro domno Johanne Gyfforde, conventu monachorum Gloucestræ, in die Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ a venerabili patre domno Reginaldo tunc abbate Gloucestrensi tunc ibidem solenniter introducto domno Johanne Gyfforde præsentē ad idem et volente." Are we to suppose that the whole convent of Gloucester went bodily to Oxford?

<sup>2</sup> The inception of Dr. Brook—Willelmus de Brok—is recorded with great glee and at some length. The Abbot, John Gamages, came "cum monachis suis, prioribus, obedientariis, claustralibus, clericis, esquieriis, et aliis nobilibus viris ad centum equos." *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 34.

same degree.<sup>1</sup> Abbot Gamages, the prelate of lordly presence and worshipful baldness, whom the great Edward deemed the most venerable man in his whole realm,<sup>2</sup> was the giver of many gifts to his church, besides the beginning of the dormitory in his days. But the second great time of building in the minster itself begins with his successor John Thoky in 1306.

The first work was the reconstruction of the south aisle of the nave about 1318.<sup>3</sup> It is as every one knows, one of the richest examples of the style of the fourteenth century. Professor Willis pointed out the near kindred between the tracery of its windows, with their unusual diverging spokes, and those of Merton chapel at Oxford. From a local point of view it is more curious to compare this lavishly adorned aisle with some other examples on this side of England, the stately windows of the great aisle at Leominster being pre-eminent above all. We may mark also the small flying buttresses supporting the newly built wall raised on the original Norman basement. The recasting of this aisle was the only architectural work of the abbacy of John Thoky, but an event of his day led to great architectural works indeed in the days of his successors. We have seen the church of Gloucester become the burying-place of a prince whom England twice rejected without trial; it has now to become the burying-place and something more of a prince whom England no less emphatically rejected after trial. Of all strange forms of devotion surely one of the strangest is that which saw a saint and martyr in Edward the Second after the Conquest. Yet to that abnormal worship the abbey of Gloucester owes its present form. I am half inclined to put it the other way, and to make it a new count in the articles of deposi-

<sup>1</sup> "Laurentius de Honsom monachus Gloucestræ incæpit in sacra theologia apud Oxoniam sub domno Willelmo de Brok, priore Sancti Petri Gloucestræ, doctore ejusdem facultatis." *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 35.

<sup>2</sup> "Fertur regem Edwardum de ipso dixisse apud Ambresbirie ad sepulturam matris suae, ubi erant omnes praelati Angliæ." "Non apparet mihi tam venerabilis persona in regno meo sicut abbas Gloucestræ." *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 41.

<sup>3</sup> "Eodem tempore (mcccxviii tempore Johannis Thoky) constructa est ala australis in navi ecclesiæ tempore istius abbatis expensis multis et sumptuosis." *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 44.

tion against the unworthy king that this misguided devotion has cost us the minster of Serlo in its perfect form, and hinders us from studying the contrast which we should otherwise have been able to mark between its eastern and its western limb.<sup>1</sup> Yet we may resign ourselves to the loss which has given us so curious a lesson in the art of reconstruction, a work carried on after one general pattern during more than a hundred years.

The connexion of Abbot Thoky with Edward of Caernarvon began early. In the days of his father the Prince visited the abbey. He dined in the Abbot's hall, which was adorned with pictures of the kings of the English. Was it treasonable imagining of his father's death when he asked in merriment whether they would ever have his likeness among his forefathers? The Abbot, under a prophetic impulse, we are told, answered that he trusted one day to have him in a worthier place than that.<sup>2</sup> And when therefore he had run his course of evil, when he had lost his crown by a lawful sentence and his life by unlawful violence, when the abbots of other monasteries, of Bristol and Kingswood and Malmesbury, feared to receive his body, Abbot John of Gloucester went to the castle of Berkeley with a car adorned with the arms of the church of Gloucester; he bore away the body of the deposed king, and, with a solemn procession of monks and citizens, buried it on the north side of the high altar of the minster.<sup>3</sup> Soon after this Abbot Thoky resigned his office into the hands of John Wigmore, in whose abbacy of eight years, from 1329 to 1337, great changes began.

The chronicle now records with delight the many oblations of the faithful at the tomb of the prince from whom the estates

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it is right to say that, when I spoke thus freely of the conventional founder of Oriel College, I had not become one of his fellows.

<sup>2</sup> The King is dining in the Abbot's hall, "et ibidem videns depictas figuras regum prædecessorum suorum, jocosè sciscitabatur ab abbate utrum haberet eum depictum iter ipsos an non. Cui respondit, magis prophetando quam fabulando, quod speraret se ipsum habiturum in honestiori loco quam ibi, quod ita evenit." *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 44.

<sup>3</sup> "In ecclesia ibidem in parte boreali juxta magnum altare." *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 45.



of England had taken away the crown that they had given.<sup>1</sup> The fall is great from Waltheof and Simon to Thomas of Lancaster; here we have a lower fall from Thomas to him who slew him. The chronicle however does not venture to attribute miracles to Edward the Second, nor do we read of any such ritual being held in his honour as that which so daringly changed

into "Gloriosi corporis mysterium"

"Gloriosi comitis martyrium."

Abbot Wigmore was a great builder; he built much in his own abbatial house and built also the grange and other buildings at Highnam<sup>2</sup>; and now, out of the offerings at the tomb of Edward he began a work which altogether changed the character of his church. The eastern part of Serlo's minster still stood untouched, save by the carrying up of the mid-tower by Helias. Abbot Wigmore began a transformation which recast part of the church in a new architectural style of which he or his architect may fairly be called the inventor. I well remember how, three and twenty years ago, I listened to Professor Willis as he set forth the design of this Abbot and thereby upset my whole notions of later architectural chronology. I had believed—I fancy everybody had believed—that the first beginnings of the Perpendicular style were to be found in the works of Bishop Edington at Winchester; but here, as the Professor showed us from undoubted evidence, from the written record combined with what our eyes saw in the building itself, was work, not quite fully developed Perpendicular, but so far advanced that it must be called Perpendicular rather than any

<sup>1</sup> "Tempore cujus (Johannis Wygmor) incoepit oblatio fidelium et devotio quam habuit erga regem Edwardum in ecclesia tumulatum, ita ut infra paucos annos tanta erat plebis frequentatio ut civitas Gloucestricæ vix caperet multitudinem populorum ex diversis civitatibus Angliæ, villis, ac vicis, illuc confluentium, ita quod de oblationibus ibidem oblatis infra vi. annos prælationis suæ alam Sancti Andree, ut nunc cernitur, a fundamentis usque ad finem perduxit." *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 46.

<sup>2</sup> Magnam grangiam apud Hynham a fundamentis construxit, et cameram abbatis juxta magnam aulam, cum parva aula sibi annexa et capella ibidem perfecit. *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 46.

other style, built between 1321 and 1335. All the essential features of the style are there, that specially English variety of the great Gothic family, which, whether for good or evil, effectually distinguishes the architecture of our land from that of every other. The south aisle of the nave is one of the most perfect examples of one style; the south transept, so very few years later, is a nearly perfect example of another. The change of taste must have been sudden indeed. Whether we like the change which he wrought or not, yet, as marking an epoch in the history of architecture in England, John Wigmore ranks with the Confessor at Westminster, with William of Saint-Calais at Durham, with Roger of Caen at Sherborne and Malmesbury, with Hugh of Avalon in the choir of Lincoln. The fact is hard to believe: but the tale is plain and undeniable. Abbot Wigmore, within six years from his promotion, completed from its foundations the aisle of Saint Andrew, that is, the south transept, as we now see it.

The transformation of the Norman minster had thus begun. And the strange source of income which had enabled the brotherhood to begin it did not fail. The offerings of the tomb of Edward of Caernarvon still went on. They were so plentiful that some said that, if all had been spent on the fabric of the church, the whole church might have been renewed.<sup>1</sup> Happily this complete renewal was warded off, and in the parts which did put on a new dress at this time, renewal did not always go beyond throwing a kind of veil over the elder work. In the days of John of Wigmore's successor, Adam of Staunton, Abbot from 1337 to 1351, the great vault of the choir was made at a great and costly expense, together with the stalls on the prior's side.<sup>2</sup> Under Thomas Horton, Abbot from 1351 to 1377, the work was

<sup>1</sup> "Ut opinio vulgi dicit, quod, si omnes oblationes ibidem collatæ super ecclesiam expedirentur, potuisset, facillime de novo reparari." *Hist. et Cart.* i., 47.

<sup>2</sup> "Domnus Adam de Stauntone successit venerabili magistro suo Johanni Wygmore cujus tempore constructa est magna volta chori magnis et multis expensis et sumptuosis, cum stallis ibidem ex parte prioris ex oblatione fidelium ad tumbam regis confluentium." The oblations are described at some length. *Hist. et Cart.* i., 47.

brought to an end. The high altar, with the presbytery, and the stalls on the abbot's side, were begun and finished, seemingly in the early part of this abbot's reign.<sup>1</sup> He also made the images and tabernacle work at the entrance of the choir on the north side.<sup>2</sup> And in 1368 he began, and in 1374 he finished, the tracing of Saint Paul's aisle, that is to say the north transept.<sup>3</sup> The cost of his works was 781 pounds and twopence, of which the Abbot himself paid 444 pounds and the odd twopence.<sup>4</sup> He also began the cloister which was finished by his successor Walter of Frocester, Abbot from 1381 to 1412.<sup>5</sup> To him we owe the compiling of the chronicle which we have hitherto been following. It is continued into his own abbacy, but it ends before his death.

We thus part company with our best authority for the history of the church. And we shall have again to turn to Abbot Frocester's narrative, which gets more life-like as he gets nearer to his own time, for some further pictures of Gloucester and its abbey in the fourteenth century. But the transformation of the church is not yet done with, even so far as that transformation was actually carried out. We have now mainly to trust to tradition, as handed down by Leland; but there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the dates which we get from this source for those parts of the fabric of which we

<sup>1</sup> The benefactions of this abbot are described at great length in the History. The entry which concerns us follows in the next page. "Opere et industria ejusdem, magnum altare cum presbiterio ibidem cum stallis ex parte abbatis fuerunt incepta et consummata." *Hist. et Cart.*, i. 49.

<sup>2</sup> "Item construxit in ingressum chori in parte boreali imagines cum tabernaculis ibidem." *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 50.

<sup>3</sup> Ala Sancti Pauli quæ incepta fuit in monasterio Beati Petri in crastino Epiphaniæ Domini anno regni regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum quadragesimo primo, et in vigilia natalis Domini anno regni regis supradicti quadragesimo septimo, cum gratia Dei plenarie est consummata." *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> "Clastrum monasterii quod fuit inceptum tempore Thomæ Hortone abbatis et ad ostium capituli perductum, et multis annis imperfectum ibidem relictum, magnis expensis et sumptuosis honorifice construxit." *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 55.



have not yet spoken. The next abbot to which any architectural work is attributed, John Morwent, who sat from 1420 to 1437, turned his thoughts westward, and undertook to bring the nave into harmony with the new forms which had been given to the choir and transepts. He began at the west end, where it is plain that he altogether pulled down the towers, as Bishop Edington had done at Winchester, and as was also done at Saint Albans. The only question is whether he found two towers to destroy, that is whether the damage of 1300 had been made good. In any case he pulled down the south-west tower of 1242. The place of the destroyed towers was taken by a west front consisting merely of the ends of the nave and aisles; inside they gave way to those two bays of later work which form the beginning of a design, which happily was never carried out, for the reconstruction of the whole nave. The great south porch is also Abbot Morwent's work, and, I presume, also the clerestory windows of the nave. At his hands the western limb of the church put on its present shape, as the eastern, northern, and southern limbs had done at the hands of his predecessors.

Two works more were needed to complete the recasting which had been going on ever since a source of profit was first found in the tomb of Edward of Caernarvon. Thomas Seabrook, Abbot from 1450 to 1457, began—it does not appear who finished—the central tower, the actual architect being one of the monks named Robert Tully.<sup>1</sup> For this fact we need not go to tradition only; the names, both of Seabrook and Tully—who was afterwards Bishop of Saint David's—are graven on their work. The next abbacy, that of Richard Henley, lasted from 1457 to 1472, and in his day the Lady chapel was at least begun. Thus, in the space of about one hundred and forty years, by far the greater part of the original minster of Serlo had been on the recast, bit by bit, in an altogether different style, and with altogether a new outline. Outside at least, its original builders would not have known their own

<sup>1</sup> The verses are given in the *Monasticon*, i. 586 :

“ Hoc quod digestum specularis opusque politum,  
Tullii hæc ex onere Seabroke abbate jubente.”

work. Save some windows and other remains in the transepts, the eastern chapels, and elsewhere in the eastern part of the church, all traces of Serlo's church had vanished. To the eye of a traveller approaching for the first time, Gloucester abbey, after the changes of the fifteenth century, must have had the air of a church of which hardly any part had stood for a much longer time than a century. In the inside it was only in the nave that any part remained untouched. The whole work, though spread over so long a space of time, was done from one general design, so far at least as that one general object was aimed at throughout. The church was to be recast rather than rebuilt; it was to be transformed into altogether another guise, but—with the exception of Abbot Morwent's destruction of the western towers—with as little sacrifice as might be of the original work. There is at Gloucester no complete rebuilding or addition at all answering to the successive enlargements which gave a new character to the churches of Lincoln and Ely. The only part which has at all the character of an altogether new building is no part of the four essential limbs, but the eastern Lady chapel. In the choir and presbytery above all, the work hardly amounts to recasting; it is simply overlaying. In the mere use of materials the transformers practised a remarkable economy. They did not waste a single stone of the elder building that could be left in its place or used again in a new place. A considerable part of the front of the south transept consists in this way of stones first cut in the eleventh or twelfth century, keeping the details of the eleventh or twelfth century, but used up again in the fourteenth. The arch of the great south window is made of voussoirs thus pressed to do service a second time. Inside the building, the Norman shafts have been put to strange uses. The coupled shafts under the lantern have lost their capitals and have been joined together to form the limbs of the letter Y. Others have been made to forsake their upright direction and to bend themselves towards any point where they could be made to bear up parts of the vault. This practice of wasting nothing that could be used again was usual with the mediæval builders. It is far more common than many think to find stones showing the details of an earlier age than

that at which, whenever they were actually carved, they were put into their present places. But at Gloucester the fashion is carried to an unusual extent. The appearance of the south transept might well puzzle a learner; it needs some familiarity with the ways of the old masons to look quite calmly on a great Perpendicular window set in an arch enriched with the Norman chevron.

We may here profitably compare the work of transformation which went on at Gloucester with the treatment of several other of our great churches which underwent more or less of change during the later days of mediæval architecture. I speak of cases which did not amount to rebuilding from the ground. This latter process we can see in the eastern limbs of Ely and Lincoln, where the earlier buildings have left no sign at all, except that single pair of Norman responds at Ely which mark the beginning of the ancient apse. In the nave of Canterbury the work of Lanfranc seems at first sight to have utterly perished; yet its extent determined the extent of the present building, and there is actually more of his masonry left in the walls than any one would think for. In the nave of Winchester the great mass of the Norman masonry is there still; it is not merely overlaid, neither is it altogether rebuilt; it is disguised so as to show a wholly different face to the beholder; but its substance has not perished. But the building which may be best contrasted with the eastern limb of Gloucester is the eastern limb of Norwich. In both minsters the men of the fourteenth century wished to recast a Romanesque building in the style of their own age. In both cases the work to be done was recasting and not absolute rebuilding. In both cases the builders had to deal with a short eastern limb of the last days of the eleventh century, and in both cases they wished to give their new work a measure of height which was unusual in English buildings, and which quite disregarded the proportions of the other parts of the two churches themselves. The presbytery of Norwich soars over the nave; the presbytery of Gloucester soars, not only over its own nave, but I believe over every existing church in England, save only Westminster and York. In other points those who undertook to recast the two



churches set about the work in altogether different ways. At Gloucester, as we enter the choir, the general effect is that of a Perpendicular building. We feel that there is something singular about it, that its effect differs altogether from that of an ordinary Perpendicular building or of any building with regular and prominent pillars and arches. The feeling is more like that of a single-bodied building, a gigantic college-chapel or a church like Alby without aisles. It is not till we look a little more narrowly that we find that the greater part of the Norman building is still actually there, not rebuilt, not even disguised as at Winchester, but simply hidden behind a veil of Perpendicular lace-work. It is only the apse that has perished utterly; Adam Stanton or his architect was indeed possessed even beyond other men with the English taste for a single gigantic east window. He would have a window beyond all windows, a window so great that it should be wider than the presbytery of which it was the finish, and could be brought in only by making something exactly opposite to an apse, something with slanting sides indeed, but sides that slant outwards instead of inwards. At Norwich, on the other hand, far more of the original work was left untouched, but so much as was touched at all was changed much more thoroughly. Alike at Gloucester and at Norwich the clerestory was rebuilt. The difference is in the treatment of the two lower stages. At Norwich there is no overlaying; at Gloucester the Norman triforium is still in being, and we may still walk in it. But it is veiled. The Norwich triforium is in no way veiled; it looks out as freely as it did in the days of Herbert Losinga. But, while, as at Gloucester, the triforium carries a clerestory and vault of which its first builders never dreamed, the side pier-arches have been more than veiled, they have been altogether recast in a fashion of which the first builders could have dreamed still less. But its two lower stages remain as they were built. By the greatest contrast of all, the apse at Norwich is untouched, except—an important exception certainly—that the rebuilding of the clerestory has made its upper portion polygonal, but its two lower stages remain as they were built. At Gloucester, in short, the later work, without destroying the elder, altogether obscures it, and decides the general effect of the

building. At Norwich the later work has largely supplanted the elder, but, where the elder work abides at all, it is in no way obscured. The general effect is not that of either style, but of a singular combination of the two side by side, or rather one over the other, which is immeasurably more satisfactory than could have been looked for. Both Gloucester and Norwich are Norman eastern limbs modified, but not completely rebuilt, in the later style. They keep therefore somewhat of the proportion of the older design. At Norwich indeed the ground plan of choir and presbytery is quite untouched, and both cleave to the elder tradition which placed the actual choir under the mid-tower, in contrast to the free eastern limbs of Lincoln and Wells from which all memory of that arrangement has vanished.

The comparison between Gloucester and Norwich leads us to one very curious question with regard to the recasting of Gloucester, namely, what became of the great central tower built by Helias the sacrist in the thirteenth century? It is impossible to look at the choir as it now stands without asking with a good deal of eagerness how it was affected by the works which were carried on underneath it. If it stood, or was designed to stand, surely no more daring work was ever undertaken than the putting up of the "magna volta" by Abbot Thoky. As we have seen, Serlo's own tower might seem to have rested on less firm support than such works commonly did. We have seen the strange way in which his shafts were treated, turned into something more like gas-pipes than anything else. The arches which sprang from them, the arches of the lantern, were cut away to make room for new arches, if they can be so called, which are hardly more than vaulting ribs, while, by a freak which, I believe, is constructively far less dangerous than it seems, a light rib spans the space where arches should be, and from it rises the "magna volta" itself. Now it is worth noticing that all this is only carrying the original peculiarity of the Gloucester and Tewkesbury lanterns somewhat further. They must have had, even in the eleventh century, much less than usual of the character of lanterns, of central spaces marked off from the four limbs on each side of it. We must not forget that at Tewkesbury certainly, and

therefore most likely at Gloucester also, the arcades in the tower above the lantern arch were once open to the choir below. But at Tewkesbury, it may have been that the little prominence of the lantern arches which now suggested the insertion of the vault goes far to make the crossing only one bay in the general length of the church. At Gloucester they went still further; they destroyed the feeling of a lantern, of a crossing, altogether. Standing in Gloucester choir, it is hard indeed to believe that we are standing underneath a central tower. Now what became of the tower of Helias? It is certain that there is now nothing left of it. The Norman work goes up to a certain height, then the Perpendicular work comes at once upon it; there is no intermediate stage, not even a range of stones, of the thirteenth century. Was the tower pulled down with a view to the rebuilding which was carried out in the next century? We should not have been surprised to hear that the reckless dealing with its supports had brought it down altogether. But, had this happened, there would surely have been some record of it. And, if the tower of Helias was for any cause taken down at this time, it opens a curious question as to Abbot Morwent's work of destruction at the west end. There, as we have seen, he pulled down the western towers twenty years before the building of the present central tower. And we are thus led to the somewhat strange conclusion that there was a time, and not a very short time, during which the minster of Gloucester stood, and that by the act of its own abbots, without any towers at all? Again, the only motive that one can conceive for the pulling down of the western towers would be to give greater prominence and dignity to the central tower. Such a motive seems altogether a mistake; but it is hard to conceive any other motive. Only, if no central tower was standing in Abbot Morwent's time, he must have pulled down the western towers in faith, to secure greater dignity for a central tower which he hoped some day would be there. It is certain that the present mid-tower was not built till the western towers were pulled down. There are however some signs which might suggest that though the present central tower was not actually built till twenty years later, its building was designed from the very first beginning



of the recasting in the south transept. Every one must have noticed the great preparations made in the way of buttresses inside and out, to keep up a tower which at least seems to have so little direct support in the shape of its own piers. Of these props some of those in the south transept seem clearly to have been thrust in at the building of the present tower in the fifteenth century. But other parts seem to be part and parcel of the work of overlaying in the fourteenth. One is driven to think that all that was done in those centuries was done from one elaborate design, of which the rebuilding of the mid-tower formed a part, and was therefore provided for from the very beginning. The only difficulty ere this was that one is driven to ask why the builders of this time deliberately designed to destroy a tower which, one would have thought, they might have simply overlaid like the rest of the building.

The architectural changes at Gloucester in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have an interest far wider than that of any merely local history. They form an epoch in the history of architecture, and the explanation of them given by Professor Willis in 1860 formed an epoch in the study of that history. But, startling as his teaching was, it was not wholly our own fault that we had none of us found out how early Perpendicular architecture came, at Gloucester at least, into use. The local History, from which Professor Willis first got his dates, was not printed till 1863. There is a kind of summary of it in the *Monasticon*, but it is done in a piece-meal, unintelligent fashion, out of which nothing short of the acuteness of Professor Willis himself could have seen the way to any light. Now the whole matter is clear; there is the building; here are its authentic dates, and we now know that the Perpendicular style was in use as early as 1330. But it certainly did not come into common use till a good deal later, and we may pretty confidently set down the work at Gloucester as the earliest instance of its use. In short, so far as we can speak of an architectural style being invented, we may safely say that the later variety of Gothic which is distinctive of England was invented in Gloucester abbey. And am I refining too much if I suggest that the particular use to which it was put in Gloucester Abbey

had its effect on the forms of the style? The Gloucester Perpendicular, both of the fourteenth and the fifteenth century, has a character of its own, which is shared by some other buildings in the same part of England which may well have followed its model—such as the towers of Worcester cathedral and Malvern priory and by some buildings in the city of Gloucester itself—but which has little in common with either of the two great varieties of Perpendicular, that of Somerset and that of East-Anglia. The style of Somerset spreads into Gloucestershire; but the style of Gloucester itself is quite different. Now it has struck me for years that the ornamental work at Gloucester has a character of its own, which comes out in a marked way if we compare the towers of the abbey with any of the great Perpendicular towers elsewhere. The panel-work, if we can so call it, looks as if it were nailed on to the main body of the building. It does not seem part of the substance of the wall; it looks like something that might conceivably be taken off and put on again. Is it possible that in this appearance, which I noticed long before I knew the true dates of the building, we have the key to the whole story, and in truth the key to the origin of the Perpendicular style. A great deal of the Perpendicular ornament at Gloucester was, we may say, nailed on. It was something stuck against or thrown over walls, pillars, arches, which were already in being. This origin gave the local style a character which clave even to those parts of the building where the same process had not taken place. But, more than this, notwithstanding the many merits of the Perpendicular style, we cannot help asking the question how men came to prefer a series of straight lines in panelling and tracery to the certainly more elegant carved lines. It is easy to say that the straight line is needful to carry out the general tendencies of the style; so it is; a Perpendicular window is in its place in a Perpendicular building, while a window of Geometrical or Flowing tracery would not be in its place. Yet we have the fact that a more elegant form was forsaken for a less elegant one. In such a case we should have looked for a hard-fought struggle between the new forms and the old, in other words for a long period of transition. And a period of transition there is, a time

in which the Flowing and the Perpendicular line were struggling for the mastery. We see signs of such a struggle in this very Saint Andrew's aisle at Gloucester in which we find the birthplace of the Perpendicular style. But, compared with other periods of transition, the struggle is neither long nor sharp; we may say on the whole that the Perpendicular style, wherever and whenever it did come in, came in with a rush. The two forms, Flowing and Perpendicular, must have been for a good while used side by side; but they seem to have influenced one another much less than styles which were used side by side commonly did. The Gloucester builders, when they had once started their new style, went on using it; but the rest of England did not generally adopt it till later. It may very well be that, though the Winchester architects did not invent it, they first made it a general fashion. Now why was all this? Why were the lines made straight at all, and why were they made straight at Gloucester before they were made straight in other places? May it not be because, for the particular purpose for which the style was first used at Gloucester, for the purpose of nailing or spreading something over something else, the straight line was most convenient? In the veil thrown over the Norman work of the presbytery, many long straight lines were unavoidable. They gave a character to the style which was carried out in the minuter details. But in other buildings, where the same process had not to be gone through, the fashion did not come into vogue till later. Nay more, the fact that Saint Andrew's aisle at Gloucester, which is, on this view, the very birthplace of the style, does not show the style in its full development, is itself part of the argument. The parts of the south transept which are still Transitional, where the Perpendicular line has not everything its own way, are the windows. From them the Flowing line is by no means wholly banished. Surely this is because the tracery of the windows was designed independently; it formed no part of the overlaying veil of vertical lines out of which I conceive the style to have grown. To carry the right line into the window tracery was a later stage. We may here compare our English work, especially in its Gloucester variety, with contemporary



French work. The Flamboyant style answers in date to our Perpendicular, and has, at least as seen in Normandy, the same general feelings and tendencies. It has even some special affinities with our Gloucester style. When the fashion was once set at Gloucester, there grew a genuine love for carrying right lines over something, often over one another. Though this differs in effect from Flamboyant interpenetration, the principle is the same. But the French style never took the final step, the straight line in panelling and window tracery.

It is to be noticed that Abbot Frocester's notice of the works in the eastern limb puts the great vault, "*magna volta*," first, as the ruling feature and object of the new work. So it doubtless was. Up to that time the presbytery had most likely kept a flat ceiling; England seems never, save in the Conqueror's chapel in the White Tower, to have adopted the South-Gaulish fashion of the barrel-vault and half-dome. Now, for the first time, the eastern part of the minster received a roof of stone, and a roof of a far more elaborate kind than that which the monks of the thirteenth century had thrown over the nave. Whatever else was done was done in subordination to this great novelty; the choir was vaulted, and other features of the eastern limb were brought into agreement with the new roof of the choir. Professor Willis has enlarged scientifically on the construction of the vaults of this period. To my untechnical eye they are less pleasing than either the simpler vaults of an earlier time or the yet more elaborate ones that come somewhat later. If we are to have a rich and elaborate vault, let us have fan tracery at once. And at Gloucester we need not go far for it, though we do not find it in the church itself, except on a very small scale at the entrance to the Lady chapel. The admirable cloister of the abbey, the work of Morton and Frocester, shows us that beautiful form of roofing in its most perfect form. It is, I imagine, the earliest example. Here, in a work more strictly original, a work of actual building and not of overlaying, the peculiarities which are due to the process of overlaying are less strongly marked, if they are marked at all. To bring them in, as in the little cloister, was a later stage. In any case the Gloucester cloister stands by itself, the most perfect

work of the kind in that form of mediæval art which is distinctly English and distinctly local. Through the whole of the recasting at Gloucester we are struck by the intensely English character of everything, whether in arrangement or in style strictly so-called. Everything which, for good or for evil, distinguishes the architecture of England from the architecture of other lands comes out at Gloucester in all its fulness. The predominant mid-tower, so predominant as to have called for the sacrifice of its western satellites—the west front, or rather the west end, formed by the simple undisguised endings of the nave and aisles—the low roofs throughout the building—the apse sacrificed to a single east window so huge as itself to become a kind of reversed apse—the Lady chapel forming a separate body projecting from the main building at a lower height—all these are features, some of which are absolutely and exclusively English, while all are characteristically English, far more usual in England than in other lands. Some of these features may not approve themselves to all tastes; I do not say that every one of them approves itself to mine; but all are intensely English. For good or for evil, Gloucester abbey is, in style, in plan, in outline, one of the most English of English churches. I am rather fond of supposing a man, skilled in history and architecture, but knowing nothing of the particular place, dropped from the sky or led blindfold from a far country to the cloister or other near neighbourhood of an English minster, and there finding out by the light of nature where he was and what was the history of the building on which he looked. I generally imagine his saying in the first breath, "I am either in England or in Normandy," and in the second, "I am in England and not in Normandy." At Gloucester I should hardly give Normandy, still less any other land, the chance even of the first breath. All, in style and in plan, is English, English of that special variety which Gloucester may claim as the growth of her own soil. If there ever were unmixed John Bulls in the world—the Maid of Domremy would have given them an uglier name—such surely were the abbots and architects of Gloucester in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the days of the Hundred Years' War.

I have thus finished the history of the fabric of the abbey church, so far as the available materials enable me to trace it. And you will see that, so far as I have traced it, I have traced it largely in the steps of Professor Willis. But I have kept myself mainly to the history of the church itself, dwelling but little on the other buildings of the monastery. For in every foundation, religious or secular, it is the church which is the great contribution made by the particular place to the general history and art of the country. Architectural style has a freer developement in a great church than it can have even in a refectory or a chapter-house; in the church the architect has freer scope for his personal tastes than he has in the buildings which surround the other three sides of a Benedictine cloister. Refectories cannot be very different from one another; even in chapter-houses there were but two main types to choose from. But in the church the builders had an almost boundless choice among endless varieties of plans, specially at the east end and at the west. The church then is generally the main object for the general inquirer; the other buildings of the monastery may often be left to the minuter care of the local antiquary. Yet we cannot forget that here at Gloucester we have monastic buildings of admirable merit far more extensively preserved, than it is usual to find them. At Gloucester we can see what a great Benedictine house was, far better than we can at Ely, at Norwich, or at Peterborough. The cloister has no rival in its own class. The glazing of its windows gives it an effect which is so striking, so completely unique, that we almost forget that it forbids any general view of the church and its accompanying buildings from any point of the cloister itself. Of those buildings on every side of the cloister the remains are neither few nor unimportant. The refectory of Abbot John de Felda,<sup>1</sup> once the seat of royal feasting, has left fewer remains than any other; but enough survives to give some notion of its design, and to show that, as became one of the chief buildings of Gloucester abbey, its great eastern window formed part of a vast panelled design. Beyond it lie the more distant buildings of the monastery, the

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. et Cart.*, i., p. 30.



stately lodgings of the abbot beyond the little stream now hidden, like the Fleet of London or the Frome of Bristol, the second cloister—was it the great prelate's own private walk?—and the graceful ruins of the infirmary. We see remains of earlier days, coffins built into the walls and bricks which remind us how near we are to the wall of Glevum. We come back to the cloister, to mark to the west the quarters of the prior and his successor the dean, showing us a stage of architecture of which we have no exact specimen in the minster itself. To the east we have the slype, the dormitory, now the library, above, and the building of greatest importance after the church itself. The chapter-house of Gloucester abbey well deserves careful study. Here, as in the church, we see a Romanesque building with its eastern part recast in Perpendicular, the lesser apse however not having so utterly vanished as the greater. The contrast between the two parts is startling; yet in this matter of chapter-houses, the earliest and the latest style have a certain fellowship with one another. At both dates the oblong shape seems to have been preferred to the polygonal shape—growing out of the Worcester round—which we find in the intermediate time. One thing is clear; the polygonal shape is a mark of date, and is no mark of difference between regulars and seculars. It is found indifferently, during the centuries when it is found at all, in foundations of both classes.

But the last pages of Abbot Frocester's history give us glimpses of the life of Gloucester abbey quite distinct from those which concern the many changes in the fabric. At the same meeting when Professor Willis traced out the history of the minster, another inquirer, also since lost to us, traced out another side of the history of the city, and a side yet more closely connected with the general history of the country. Gloucester, once a special seat of national assemblies, did not altogether lose that character till the fifteenth century, and Mr. Hartshorne, in his paper on "the Parliaments of Gloucester,"<sup>1</sup> carefully brought to light this aspect of Gloucester history. The old Gemóts of Gloucester come specially home to me; in dealing with the great

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Journal*, xvii., p. 201.

Gemôt of 1051, I felt that Mr. Hartshorne was, even in 1860, straying on my ground; I took possession of Earl Godwine and all that belongs to him on his own South-Saxon soil in 1853. But I am content humbly to follow Mr. Hartshorne's lead as to the assemblies held at Gloucester from the twelfth century onwards. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Gloucester had ceased to be a place of yearly gatherings as it had been in the eleventh, but not a few memorable councils were held here. It still was, as in the days of the Confessor, the special place for discussing the affairs of Wales, for receiving the homage of Welsh princes, for planning campaigns to withstand or to punish their incursions. The assembly of 1234 bears the name of *Colloquium*—the name so common in Germany—and Mr. Hartshorne discusses the force of the name, or rather its lack of any special force. With our elder Gloucester experience, we might say that *Colloquium* is simply good Latin, while *Parliamentum* is bad, and that both are nothing but translations of the "deep speech" that King William had with his Witan, here in Gloucester, in 1085. Gloucester however, though the seat of assemblies both under Henry the Third and under the great Edward, did not see a full-grown Parliament of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, of Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, till a much later day. Edward of Caernarvon held no Parliament on the spot where he was received in life and was to be worshipped after death. Nor did Edward the Third, while winning glory for the arms of England and losing the ancient possessions of England, call the estates of the realm together to see how England was meanwhile developing a hitherto unknown form of art. It was not till the early days of Richard the Second, till the year 1378, when the power of John, Duke of Lancaster was paramount, that Gloucester saw another gathering of the Lords and Commons of England. The political importance of that Parliament was set forth by Mr. Hartshorne, as it has since been more fully set forth by Dr. Stubbs.<sup>1</sup> It holds no small place in the history of the stages by which the House of Commons won to itself the control of the national purse. But we are now more concerned with the local aspect of the assembly, and with Abbot Frocester's vivid

<sup>1</sup> *Constitutional History*, iv., 446.

description of the state of things within the walls of the abbey. Not small were the grievances of the Abbot and the whole convent, when the King was quartered within the monastery, and its chief buildings were turned to the use of the estates of the realm. The meeting of Parliament drew with it such a crowd of people of all kinds that the monastery seemed more like a market-place than a religious house.<sup>1</sup> The cloister-garth, once fresh with grass, was so trodden down by wrestlers and players at ball that not a blade of green was left in it.<sup>2</sup> The chapter-house, the refectory, the guest-hall, the chamber called from its beauty the King's chamber, were all occupied for the meetings of the two houses or for the more private discussions of the King's councillors.<sup>3</sup> The monks had to seek shelter where they could in their own house; they had to dine in the dormitory or in the school, and to have their meals cooked in the orchard.<sup>4</sup> It was perhaps a relief when, towards the end of the Parliament, things returned so far to their natural uses that the young king held a great feast in the refectory, it is not said at whose cost.<sup>5</sup> But in the end

<sup>1</sup> All these curious details come from the personal witness of Abbot Frocester, who was then chamberlain of the abbey. "Omnia loca in monasterio patentia sic ad parliamentum venientibus frequentata fuere ut magis loca nundinarum quam religiosa cernentibus apparerent." *Hist. et Cart.*, i., 53.

<sup>2</sup> "Nam viridum claustrum tanta luctantium et ad pilam ludentium exercitatione extitit deplanatum quod nulla viriditatis vestigia in ibi sperabantur." *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> "In refectorio de armorum legibus tractabatur, aula autem hospitum communi parlamento erat deputata. Porro in camera hospitii, quæ camera regis propter ejus pulchritudinem antiquitus vocata est, consilium secretum inter magnates versabatur, ac in domo capituli consilium commune." *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> The King and his whole following were lodged in the abbey "Quæ eis et parlamento ita undique erat impleta ut conventus per aliquot dies in dormitorio, postea vero in domo scolæ utilius consultus tam diebus carniæ quam piscium durante parlamento necessitate urgente integro manducaret, quibus diebus in pomerio eorum prandium parabatur." *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> The feast and the mass that went before it are described at some length. i. 53, 54.



the minds of the monks of Gloucester were relieved as to the general results of the assembly. Rumour had gone abroad that frightfully heavy taxes were to be laid on the kingdom in general and on churchmen in particular. It was a comfort then when the merchants, who could afford such grants—"quia pecuniosi erant"—voted money on behalf of the whole nation for carrying on the king's wars.<sup>1</sup> It was no part of the business of a Gloucester writer to set down that the grant of the merchants proved far from enough, and that the next year a Parliament held at Westminster was driven to lay a poll-tax on everybody from Duke John downwards,<sup>2</sup> a poll-tax whose successor of the next year every child has heard of.

The last event recorded in the Abbot's chronicle was likely to give more pleasure in the abbey than the visit of King Richard and his Parliament. In Abbot Frocester's time many privileges were gained to the house of Saint Peter by the Pope, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of the realm. The greatest of all was one which had been sought for in his predecessor's time, and which now was granted through the influence of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, who, like Earl Robert in past times, appears as a patron of the head church of the city from which he took his title. Walter of Frocester was the first of the abbots of Gloucester to wear the mitre and ring of pontifical rank. We have a glowing description of the ceremonies, spiritual and temporal, which marked the final exaltation of an institution which, in one shape or another, had now lived through seven hundred years. We read of the vast crowd and the stately procession when the Bishop of Worcester sang the mass, while the Abbot stood by in the garb which made him his outward peer, and the lay worshippers were headed by Duke Thomas himself, successor in some sort of Ealdorman Osric in the ancient times. Then followed the banquet, where duke, bishop,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* i. 54. "Nulla vulgaris populi fieret taxatio, nec viri ecclesiastici ullis decimarum pensionibus aliquantulum opprimerentur, sed tantum mercatores communi assensu pro toto regno, quia pecuniosi erant, guerræ rege opitulam pecuniam ministrarent."

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs' *Constitutional History* ii., 447.

and abbot feasted together to the sound of music, and the duke again solemnly gave to the abbot the ensigns of his new rank.<sup>1</sup> Without committing oneself to the approval of all the doings of Thomas of Woodstock, when we think of his day at Gloucester and of his end at Calais, one begins to wonder why some share of honours which local reverence paid to his grandfather did not fall to his lot also.

The exact date of the ceremony of which we have just spoken is not given. As Duke Thomas played a part in it and as John Frocester appears as abbot and William Courtenay as archbishop, it must have been between 1381 and 1397. The abbots of Gloucester thus enjoyed their pontifical splendour for about a hundred and fifty years. Then came the great change which in so many places was marked by utter havoc and destruction, but which at Gloucester brought only yet another change of foundation. The abbey of Saint Peter did not share the fate of Winchcombe and vanish from the earth; it did not share the fate of Glastonbury and survive as a shattered ruin; it did not even share the milder fate of Saint Albans, and sink to the level of an ordinary parish church. At Gloucester Henry the Eighth did little more than to undo the work of Wulfstan. The eleventh century had driven out the seculars and brought in the monks; the sixteenth century drove out the monks and brought back the seculars. The church rose in ecclesiastical rank; the mitre and staff of Gloucester were no longer to be symbols of powers which could not be exercised in their fulness. Instead of abbot, prior, and monks, came bishop, dean, and prebendaries. The bishop dwelled in the quarters of the abbot, the dean in the quarters of the prior. The other buildings were parted out among the other members of the new foundation, and that with less of havoc than was generally caused by changes of the kind. A considerable part at least of the revenues of the abbey was restored, to form the separate endowments of the bishop and of his chapter. But it is as well to remember that all this was simply because King Henry chose it

<sup>1</sup> These ceremonies are described at length in the addition to Abbot Frocester's narrative, *Hist. et Cart.* i., 56, 58.

to be so, because his strange wayward will, which seemed to delight equally in pulling down and in setting up, thought good to show mercy at Gloucester, while at Winchcombe he showed no mercy at all, and at Tewkesbury sold an imperfect mercy for money.<sup>1</sup> We should remember that if Henry the Eighth became a new founder of the church of Gloucester, he was able to be so only because church and monastery, lands and tithes, jewels and relics, had passed absolutely into his hands to deal with as he thought good. He had "remorse" at Gloucester; he had none at Coventry, where all the prayers of his faithful servant Bishop Lee could not avail to save the head church of his diocese from destruction. And in parting out the revenues of Saint Peter, one change was not made which a king who came of the stock of the Briton might with special fitness have made. The old wrong-doings of Robert Fitz-hamon and his more famous son-in-law were not undone; they were again confirmed. While Henry was seizing with one hand and granting away with another, it would have been easy for him to restore to the churches of Glamorgan what the conquerors of an earlier day had taken from them. Instead of any such act of justice, among the possessions granted to the newly-founded chapter were the rectories of Llancarfan, Llantwit, Llanblethian, Llantrissant, Pennarth, and Cardiff. Other possessions of the same kind formed part of the endowment of the bishopric.<sup>2</sup> During the reign of un-law under Edward the Sixth the work of Henry was for a moment undone; Worcester and Gloucester again formed a single bishopric.<sup>3</sup> After three years,

<sup>1</sup> See *Monasticon*, ii., 58. It is clear that Tewkesbury was a divided church, of which the western part belonged to the parish, and only the eastern to the abbey. By "the church," in the list of "buildings deemed to be superfluous," is meant only the eastern part or monastic church. This the parishioners bought of the King, and added it to their own parish church in the western limb, which was in no way touched by the dissolution of the monastery. But the eastern Lady chapel perished along with the conventual buildings. At Gloucester, as the whole church belonged to the monastery, the whole church passed into the hands of the King, and he granted it untouched to his new foundation.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i., 557.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, i., 560.



Queen Mary separated them again, and the Gloucester bishopric lived on as a distinct see till its union with Bristol in our own day. For a little more than twelve hundred years the church of Gloucester has lived on under one form or another. One foundation has succeeded another; one material fabric has succeeded another; but the traditions and associations of the place have never been broken. On the old British and Roman site, whose day of desolation could have been of no long endurance, church and city arose again, to live on, changing their form, but never losing their substance. And among all those ages there is one age which stands out conspicuously above all others as the most brilliant time of local history. It was at Gloucester, in the century which beheld the beginnings of the minster that we now see, that Godwine first bearded the stranger in the hall of Eadward, that the first William held the deep speech which led to the making of Domesday, and that the second, in his hour of momentary penitence, thrust the staff of spiritual rule into the unwilling hand of Anselm.

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## GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL LIBRARY.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM BAZELEY, M.A.

The following extracts are interesting as showing the two-fold foundation of the present Library in the seventeenth century. Very few of the books, now forming part of Cathedral Library, appear to have belonged to St. Peter's Abbey. I have found no traces of a Cathedral Library earlier than 1629. The books belonging to the monks of St. Peter's were confiscated by King Henry VIII. at the dissolution. A list of some of them, given by the antiquary, Leland, appears in the earlier volume of the "Records."<sup>1</sup>

I. A COPPIE OF THE B. OF GLOUCESTERS LETTER TO SOME OF THE  
CLERGIE OF HIS DIOCES.<sup>2</sup>—THE ENDORSMEN:

To my very loving friends and brethren Mr. Robert Knollis parson of Hampnett and deane of the Deanries of Cirencester and ffaireford and the rest of my brethren the clergie of these deanryes be these dd.

My good brethren,

I ame to lett yow understand that I have lately erected a Librarie in Glouc<sup>r</sup> for the use of all our brethren throughout my Dioces as likewise for the use of gent and strangers, such as are students. I conceave it will not onely be most usefull but

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 145-6.

<sup>2</sup> This letter, and the remarks which follow appear in a note book of Dr. Benfield of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Sloane collection, No. 1199, fols. 92-3, British Museum.

likewise a great ornament to Citie and Dioces. Some bookes I have allreadie given and more God willing I intend to bestow. Mr. Deane and the Prebendaries of the Church doe the like. Now my request unto yow is, that every man would be likewise pleased to give either a booke or y<sup>e</sup> price of a booke. You shall not need to inquire what bookes we have ore what are wanting ffor if we have double we can exchange them. I pray likewise more such gent and others, in your parish who are lovers of learning to the same purpose; whatsoever they please to bestow, it shall be thankfully received and their names registred as Benefactors. This Librarie I doe intend shall not only be for the use of such as come hither; but generally throughout the whole dioces if any man have occasion to use any of these bookes they shall be lent him for one month, he giving a note under his hand for the safe restitution.

God knowes I have noe other end in this but only his glorie, the good of his church, the advancement of Religion and learning; that wherein every private man cannot furnishe himselfe; he might be supplied out of our comon store house. If any mans weake estate and povertie be such, that he can neither give booke, nor price of booke, yet in manners and courtisie (seeing his Diocesan require it) I doe expect that he should excuse himselfe, and I will take y<sup>e</sup> least excuse without any further inquirie as lovingly as if he had given the greatest guift: neither doe I write this to Curates or Lecturers, unlesse themselves please to bestow; only I do expect from them, that they acquaint the parsons and vicars and returne their answers unto mee; and that they set downe the time, when they received this letter; and to whom and when it was delivered; w<sup>ch</sup> letter I doe expect, noe man shall keepe above one day; but being sufficiently acquainted with the contents, he shall send it to the next neighbour minister; and soe from one to another, as within one moneth, I may heare from every man that if nothing be given yet we may not be held in suspense. Every thursday God willing I shall be in Gloucester to attend this and other busines, and should I be absent I doe desire yow to addresse your selves to Mr Deane and the prebendaries, or to any one of them present, whom I doe likewise intend to put in



trust with this Librarie and to interest them and their successors in the safe custodie thereof, soe expecting the due performance thereof, beseeching God to blesse the whole Dioces, I commit you to his protection and rest,

Your loving friend and

Diocesan

Godfr Glouc<sup>r</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

Winyard 29

Aug. 1629.

The bookes ar to be left w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Langly<sup>2</sup> the scholemaster and M<sup>r</sup> Simon Wrench<sup>3</sup> the sonne of M<sup>r</sup> Wrench y<sup>e</sup> prebendarie<sup>4</sup> and they are to order and take the charge of them."

This letter I receaved y<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> of September, and sent it y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> day to M<sup>r</sup> Hunsell<sup>5</sup> Vicar of Colne Aldwins.

Me testante Henrico Ham de Bibury Cur.

This letter I received y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> day of Septemb and delivered it to M<sup>r</sup> Osborne<sup>6</sup> Curat of Quennington y<sup>e</sup> same day.

per me Tho. Hounsell Vic.

This letter I received y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> day of September and delivered it to M<sup>r</sup> Wearing parson of Hatheropp y<sup>e</sup> same day.

Ita testor. Edm Osborne.

This letter I likewise received y<sup>e</sup> XI<sup>th</sup> day of Septemb. and made my patron John Blomer Esq<sup>7</sup> acquainted herewith and soe de-

<sup>1</sup> Godfrey Godman, D.D., was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester 1624.

<sup>2</sup> I find John Langly mentioned as master of the College School from 1623 to 1633.

<sup>3</sup> Simeon Wrench was second porter during the same period.

<sup>4</sup> Elias Wrench, M.A., was Prebendary of the second stall from 1593 to 1643. He was buried in the Cathedral.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Hounsell was instituted to the living of Coln St. Alwins in 1618.

<sup>6</sup> Matthew Osborne was instituted to the Rectory of Quennington in 1621.

<sup>7</sup> Livery of the Manor of Hatherop was granted to John Blomer, 1 Eliz. John Blomer, son of William, married Francis daughter of Lord Montacute, and died 1640. Atkyns' *History of Gloucestershire*, pp. 2 and 3.

livered y<sup>e</sup> same to M<sup>r</sup> Nicholson Vicar of Faireford being y<sup>e</sup> XI<sup>th</sup> day aforesaid. 1629. By me Rob Wearing parson of Hatheroppe.

This letter I likewise received y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> day of Sept. and soe delivered the same to M<sup>r</sup> Blackborne Vicar of Kemisford on the 15<sup>th</sup> day, and I ame content according to these contents and my abilitie either to give booke or price of booke.

By me Chr. Nicholson Vicar.<sup>1</sup>

This letter was delivered to M<sup>r</sup> Dr Benefield<sup>2</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 17 of Sept.

By me John Blackborne.

This letter I received Sep<sup>r</sup> 17 and the day following sent it to M<sup>r</sup> Alford<sup>3</sup> Vicar of Downe Ampney, [Ita est S.B.] by M<sup>r</sup> Pembroke min. of Hampton Meisey.

When this letter shall come to y<sup>e</sup> last man, who canot send it to any other of that Deanrie, then I doe expect that forthwith he send it to M<sup>r</sup> Langly the scholemr.

## II. MANUSCRIPT LIST OF DONORS AND DONATIONS TO THE COLLEGE LIBRARY FOUNDED BY THOMAS PURY JUNIOR A.D. 1648-1658.<sup>4</sup>

Anno Salutis millesimo sexcentesimo quadragesimo octavo, cùm, vix dum sopitis bellis civilib. Respub. Literaria grave jam passa fuisset detrimentum; Thomas Pury Iun. Armiger—Hanc Fabricam, nuper domum Capitularem Ecclesiæ Cathedr. Glouc. in Bibliothecæ formam et usum redigendam suscepit: Et, postquam pecuniis Corrogandis, atque ornamentis conquirendis multùm desudasset, Necdum incepto operi, quod Conquisitum erat, sufficeret; Ipse, pro singulari suo erga literas divinas juxtà ac humanas affectu et studio, ne tantæ molis, tantique momenti opus imperfectum lingueretur, De Proprio, quod decrat, expendens, opus inchoatum ad exitum, qualem cerninus, Feliciter Perduxit.

<sup>1</sup> Christopher Nicholson was instituted to the living of Fairford in 1617.

<sup>2</sup> Sebastian Benefield was instituted to the living of Maysey-Hampton in 1605.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Alford was instituted to the living of Downe Amney in 1603.

<sup>4</sup> *Records*, vol. i., 84.

Quæ Quidem Bibliotheca sic extracta, unâ cum Ecclesiæ hujusce Cathedr. ædificiis, vasis, totâque suppellectili, Majori et Burgensib. Civit. Gloucest<sup>riæ</sup>, et Successoribus eorum a Ritentissimo et invictissimo Principe Olivaro Dei gratiâ hujus Reipublicæ Protectore Parlamento suo,<sup>1</sup> anno domini millesimo sexcentesimo quinquagesimo sexto, Westmonaster. . . . .  
 . . . . . Confirmata fuit in perpetuum . . . . .  
 . . . . . Thomæ Pury in eodem parlia . . . . .  
 . . . . . Civis, ac Burgensis.<sup>2</sup> . . . . .

Prædicti Maior et Burgenses, tam conspicuam Protectoris et Parlamenti munificentiam, grato recolentes animo, Ne Cui non satis, de hisce ædificiis ac donariis, bono publico, sartis tectis tuendis, videretur cautum, Utque animi erga artes liberales propensi, clarum exhiberent specimen: Solennem, ex Communis concilii sententiâ, sponsionem, sequenti formula conceptam, interposuerunt; Qua, ceu Publici hâc ex parte Fidei Commisarii, Omnia, ibidem, vel deposita, vel deponenda, Suâ Fide Esse Jubent.

City of } ff. At a Common Council there held, the six and  
 Glouc. } twentieth day of March 1658.

Whereas by an Act of Parliament lately made, entituled An Act for settling the late Cathedrall Church of Gloucester upon the Maior and Burgesses of the City of Gloucester and their successors for publique and religious uses, the Library in the Colledge there is (amongst other things) vested and settled upon the said Maior and Burgesses and their successors for ever Now for the supplying and furnishing of the said Library with bookes and other things relating thereunto, This House Doth Agree And Declare, that the said Maior and Burgesses and their Successors shall and will take care of and be responsible for all bookes and other things that shall either by guift or bequest be given and delivered into the said Library. And that the same (shal be) from time to time carefully and decently

<sup>1</sup> The words "Ritentissimo et invictissimo Principe Olivaro Dei gratiâ hujus Reipublicæ Protectore" and "suo" have been very carefully erased, I suppose, by some loyal member of the Cathedral Chapter, restored in 1660.

<sup>2</sup> Part of the first leaf of the MS. has been torn off, leaving these gaps.



kept in the said Library (for publique use) And that they the said Major and Burgesses and their successors (shall and will) also from time to time take care for and be at the (charge of the constant reparations<sup>1</sup>) of the said Library.

John Dorney Town Clerke there.

Nomina et Cognomina eorum, qui ad Hanc Bibliothecam, vel Construendam, vel Locupletandam, pecunias numeratas, libros, seu quodvis aliud munificentiae genus Subministrarunt.

Thomas Pury Jun. Armig. hujus Bibliothecae ponendae Author, praeter indefessum ejus in totius operis, dum apparabatur, mole sustinenda laborem, dedit insuper de suo, Libras Centum Quadraginta Quinque. Complurib. praeterea libris, velut auctarii loco, donatis.

Legionis tunc temporis in hac urbe praesidiariae Ductores, e suis, quae ibidem fecerant, stipendiis, dederunt, partim ad hujus Bibliothecae structuram, partim ad alios usus publicos, Libras.

Major et Burgenses Civit. Gloucestriae donarunt.

Vlyssis Aldrovandi opera. 12 vol. fol. viz.,

Ornithologiae. vol. 3.

De Quadrupedib. totidem.

De Serpentib. et Dracomb. 1.

De Piscibus. 1.

De Animalib. exanguibus. 1.

De Animalib. Insectis.

De Monstris. 1.

De Metallis. 1. (L: 18-29.)<sup>1</sup>

Henricus Ellis Gen. Civit. Glouc. Civis legavit moriens libros seqq. Quibus Tituli sunt.

Acts and Monuments, &c. by John Fox.

The History of the World, by Sir Walter Raleigh. (C. 21)

The Gen. History of France, written by John de Serres, Englished by Edw. Grimston. (A. 62)

The Gen. History of the Turkes, written by R. Knolles. (C. 22)

Johannes Langley quondam Scholae Collegiatae Glouc. nuperrime verò Paulinae apud Londinenses Magister. Donavit lexicon Hebraicum, Cui Tit. Arca Noe, Authore M. Marino Brixiano. (X. 67)

Thomas Browne de Civit. Glouc. Gen. dedit. (D. 15-17) Monasticum Anglicanum

Johannes Dorney Armig. Cleric Com. Civit. Glouc. dedit libr. Cui Tit.

The Dutch Annotations on the whole Bible, Englished by Theodore Haak, Esquire. 2 vol. fol. (X. 56, 57.)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>.—This and similar references give the places of the books in the Cathedral Library. Where no reference is given I fear the book is missing.

<sup>2</sup>.—On the title page appears—

“Ex dono Johan: Dorney arm:

Com: Cler. Civit. Glouc.

Olim a Collegio Exon: Oxon:

Necnon ex Hospitio Lincoln:

Sept. 26th. Anno Dni 1657. mo.”

<sup>1</sup> The words in brackets have been filled in from the Gloucester Corporation Minute Book of the 17th century.

Cl: Barksdale A. M dedit.  
libr. seqq. a se editos.

Monumentaliteraria Thuani. (G.9).  
H: Grotius of the Authority of the  
highest powers aboutsacred things  
(T. 40.)

Johannes Trapp, pastor de  
Weston Super Avon, dedit.  
libr. seqq. a se editos quibus  
Tituli.

A Clavis to the Bible, or,  
A new Comment upon the Pen-  
tateuch. (T. 216.)  
A Commentary upon all the Epistles,  
and the Revelation. (T. 54.)

Stephanus Halford, Gen.  
Civit. Glouc. Civis donavit  
libr. seqq.

Cooperi Lexicon. (J. 124.)  
Erpenii gram. hebr. (S. 29.)  
Whitaker contra Sander. (R. 50.)  
Balcei Romanor. pontific. Acta.  
(S. 10.)  
Gerhardi Aphorism. sacros. (S. 7.)  
Concilii Trident. Canonos. (R. 48.)

Richardus Gwinnet, Gen.  
de Shurdington.

The Generall History of the Turkes,  
written by R. Knolles.

Edvardus Greevile, Gen.  
Civit. Glouc. Civis.

Toleti Com. in Evang. Johan. (R. 99.)  
Fulkes confut. of the Rhemists  
Test. (R. 95.)

Henricus Pritchard, Gen.  
Civit. Glouc. Civis.  
Ruellius de natura Stirpium. (C. 20)

Thomas Pury, sen. unus  
ex Aldermannis Civit. Glouc.  
donavit libr. seqq.

Chronicon Catholicum contextû ab  
Edv. Simsonio. S. Th. Doct. (W. 15)  
Mare Clausum. or, Of the dominion  
of the Sea, written by Joh. Selden  
translated by M. Needham (B. 16)  
Purchas his Pilgrimes in 5 vol. fol.  
(I. 115-119.)

Morisons Itinerary, Englished by  
the Author. (I. 114.)

The Rhemist's Testament.

LXXX Sermons by Dr. Donne.  
(W. 39.)

An Expos. of Moses lawes, by  
Joh. Weemse. (S. 37.)

Anglia Rediviva<sup>1</sup> (S. 37.)

A four-fold way to live well. (A. 36.)

A large old English Bible.

Widdrington's Rejoynder to Fitz-  
herbert. (S. 38.)

Pulton de pace. (B. 8.)

Statutes at large. 2 vol. fol. (B. 44-45)  
Rastels Abridgment.

Robertus Feilding, Med. D.  
primus hujus Bibl. Bibliothecarius.

Wesembecii Coment. in Instit.  
Justinianus. (B. 22.)

Wesembecii Coment. in pandect.  
(B. 22.)

Peckii Com. ad Regulas. Jur. Can.  
Ph. Decius in Tit. de Reg. Juris.  
(G. 119.)

Bronchorst in Tit. Digestor. de  
Reg. Jur. (G. 38.)

Melchior Kling. in Instit. Justin.  
(H. 23.)

Tho. Freigii Qucest. Justin. (H. 25.)  
Mynsingeri Apotelesma. (A. 59.)

Idem Vir Ornatissimus  
Curator Librorum dedit cate-  
nas pret. 5.

Johannes Stannyan. Armi-  
ger, Civis Lond. Donavit.

Great Bibles with Sculpture by  
Ogilby. vol. 2.

Johannes Gyse de Sand-  
hurst, Gen.

Rogers seaven Treatises.<sup>2</sup> (W. 57.)  
Cartwright's confutation of the

Rhemists Testament.<sup>3</sup> (X. 45.)

Henricus Hamond, SS Theol.  
Doctor.

Alex. Tralliani opera græcæ.

P. Æginetæ opera gr.

Ætîi opera. gr. (A. 26.)

1.—Sprigge's Anglia Rediviva—being the  
History of the successes, &c. of the army  
under Sir Thos. Fairfax, fol. Lond. 1647.

2.—This book has the Royal Arms on the  
covers, and was probably from Charles I.'s  
Library. (1605.) (No remarks by John  
Guyse.)

3.—Signed "John Gyse. Dedit Johan  
Gyse Christoph. Baronetti Fraser."

Edmundus Sturmy, Civit.  
Glouc. Civis.

Baldi Comment. in Justiniani Codic.

Johannes Donne Civit. Glouc.  
Civis.

A Christian Dictionary, by Thomas  
Wilson. (X. 55.)

A childe of light walking in dark-  
nesse, by Tho : Goodwin. T. 211.  
Missale, ad usum Eccl. Herfordensis  
(17).

Rastell's Abridgement.

An old English Manuscript.

Robertus Oldsworth de  
Faerford Armiger donavit libr.  
seqq.

Philippi Mornœi mysterium iniqui-  
tatis. (W. 17.)

Roberti Bellarmini Controvers.  
(Y. 51.)

Fabri Favent Disput. Theologie.  
(W. 34.)

Francisci Longi a Coriolano Summa  
Concilior. (O. 54.)

Missale Rom. ex decreto Conc. Trid.  
(Press No. 3.)

Eustathii hexahemeron, unâ cum  
notis Leonis Allastii et dissertat.  
de Engastrimytho. (R. 65.)

Acta Synodi Dordrechtance. (R. 72.)

Joh. Morini Exercit. Biblic. (S. 120.)  
Joh. Morini Exercit. Ecclesiastic.  
(R. 70.)

Guil. Gibienf. de libertate dei et  
Creaturæ. (R. 71.)

Corpus Juris Canonici. (A. 49, 50.)

Joh. Schneidwini in Institut. Justin.  
Coment. (F. 15.)

Barthol. Gavanti Thesaur. rituum  
Sacrorum.

Ejusdem Thesauri pars altera.  
(R. 67.)

Vossii Coment. Rhet.

Petr. Bertii Hymeneus desertor.  
(R. 1.)

Breviarum Rom. ex decreto Conc. Trid.

Jacobi Gretseri apologia. (R. 45.)

Gennadii Scholarij opuscula. (R. 43.)

Aegidius Oldsworth, Rect.  
Burt. mont. donavit.

The Illustrious Wife.

Robertus Nicholas unus ex  
Baronibus Scaccarii donavit.  
Libr. seqq.

Draytons Poly Olbion. (Case 18.)

Martins Hist. of the Kings of Eng-  
land. (B. 15.)

Pultons Abridgement of Statutes.  
(B. 7.)

Canterburys doome.

Justice Hattons Reports } MSS.  
Justice Owens Reports } (Case 18)

Mr. Lanes Reports }  
The Antiquity of Parlia- } MSS.  
ments }

The Liberty of the Person  
of every Freeman }

Baxters Saints Everlasting Rest.  
(V. 93.)

Norden's Speculū Brit. and peram-  
bulatio of Kent. (E. 68.)

Antiquit. Rom. : and Ind. : by Th.  
Godwyn.

Verstegans Antiquities.

Camdens Remaines

The Usurpation of Prelates. MS.

Livii Hist. Rom.

Spec. Moraliū Qucest. auth. Jo :  
(Caso. 10.)

Sr. Fr. : Bacon's Elemts. of the  
Comon Law. (H. 107.)

Sr. Fr. : Bacons Advancemt. of  
Learning.

Tollet de animâ. (G. 109.)

Markhams Masterpeece. (A. 33.)

Bell's Survey of Popery.

Carletons Examination of the  
Appeal, &c. (T. 51.)

Contradictiones Rom. Ecclesie.

Diurnals of Parliamentary Pro-  
ceedings from Nov. 22, 1641 to  
May 27, 1658. Vol. 13. (F. 4-14.)

Speeches and other passages in  
Parliament from Nov. 1640 till  
June, 1641. Vol. 2.

The Swedish Intelligencer, in seven  
parts, beginning in the yere 1630  
and continued untill October,  
1634. lib. 8.

The Modern History of the World  
for the yeres 1635, 1636, 1637.  
lib. 5.

Varios insuper Tractatus partim  
Chartæ nonnullos membrance  
insutos, numero viginti septem.  
Demque in 8°, 12° et 16° libellos  
ad octoginta septem.



Gualterus Sloper, Gen. ex  
Hospitio S<sup>ti</sup> Clementis in  
Com. Mid.

Hostiensis Summa. (A. 51-52.)  
Mornai of the Sacrament of the  
Eucharist. (X. 19.)

Hugo fil et Hæres Hugonis  
Browne Armigeri nuper de  
Civit. Bristoll. Alderm. dedit.  
A generall Martyrology, And the  
Lives of sundry Modern Divines,  
by Sam. Clarke. 1 vol. fol. (X.49.)

Thomas Yate Gen. hujus.  
Civit. Civis. donavit.  
Dan. Senerti opera. 3<sup>bus</sup> Tomis.  
Fol. (B 48, 49.)

Thomas Dennis Gen. hujus.  
Civit. Civis.  
Erasmus' paraphrase on the fower  
Evangelists, and the Acts of the  
Apostles. (Case 1.)

Tobias Jordan unus ex Al-  
dermannis hujus. Civit. dedit.  
lib. seqq.

Jewell against Harding.  
Sir Thomas Mores Confut. of  
Tindall, &c. (Case 1.)  
Dionysii Hierarchia Cœlest.  
Geo. Wicetii postilla. (Z. 13.)  
Joh. Spangenbergi Tabulæ in Evang.  
et Eplâs. (R. 100.)

Petr. Berthorii Morale Reducto-  
rium<sup>1</sup>  
Joh. Brentii Hom. in Evang. Luc.  
et in passion Christi. (W. 47.)  
Junianus de priscorum verbor<sup>um</sup> pro-  
prietate. (J. 137.)  
Rainerii pisani pantheologia. (Press  
No. 3.)

1.—Two works of Peter Berchorius, viz.  
*opera omnia*, Antwerp, 1609, and *Reper-  
torium, Vulgo, Dictionarium Morale*,  
Antwerp, 1609, have on title page these  
words "Dedit D. Johan Viney Consiliarius."  
(X. 64 and Z. 3.)

Anth. de Gissandis expos. Evan-  
gelior totius anni.

Th: Erastus de Excommunicatione.  
(R. 76.)

Petri de Vincencia Catena aurea.  
Ger. Matthiisii Com. in universa  
Aristot.

Logic. et in Th: Aquinat: de  
nat. et essentia rerum.

Geo. Trapezuntii Rhetoricor. lib. 5.  
(G. 98.)

Santii Porta Sermones hyemalis.  
Sulpitii Gramatica ab Ascensio re-  
cognita. (G. 77.)

Despanterii Gramatica ab eod. re-  
cognita. (Press No. 3.)

Anth: Corvini postilla in Evang.  
et Eplâs præcipua capita. (R.92)  
Doctrinæ Jesuit: Authoribus  
(S. 70-73.)

Kemnitio Boquino &c. vol. 4.  
Hng: de prato florido sermones de  
sanctis p. tot. añ. (Press No. 3.)

Thomas Peirce, p. t. Maior  
Glouc. Bibliothecæ donavit  
quinque Libras. Idem donavit

Bp. Babingtons Works.  
Religion of the ancient Irish.  
Defence of the Bish of Eli's Ans.  
(O. 12.)

Gulielmus Harris Mercator  
et Civis Lond. Bibliothecæ  
donavit viginti Libras.

Idem, qui donavit Ecclesiæ  
Decem Libras.

Vir generosus Thos. Lysons  
donavit.

Thesauri Concionatorum Tomos II.  
Auctore Tho. de Trugillo.  
(Y. 47-48.)

*Then follows a further list of Donors, commencing with William Nicholson, Bishop of Gloucester, 1660—1671, and concluding with Robert Cooke, Prebendary of Gloucester Cathedral, 1707—1724.*

*About half-way through the book are given a list of the MSS., and an Index, alphabetically arranged, of the printed works forming the Library in 1670.*

NOTES ON A SOUTH-WEST PROSPECT OF THE CITY  
OF GLOUCESTER.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM BAZELEY, M.A.

The view of Gloucester which is placed as a frontispiece to this volume has been lithographed from an engraving in the collection of Mr. H. W. Bruton, and has been most generously presented to the Cathedral Society for the Records by Messrs. Kell & Son, of 40, King Street, Covent Garden, London.

On the left of the picture the little bell tower of old S. Bartholomew's Hospital rises above the trees and surrounding houses. This hospital is said to have been founded about the commencement of the 13th century by William Myparty, a burgess of Gloucester, as an abode for a guild of workmen who were erecting the West Bridge under their guild master, Nicholas Wahed, a clerk.<sup>1</sup> In 1229 Henry III. endowed the hospital with S. Nicholas' Church, and dedicated it to the apostle S. Bartholomew. On the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the time of Henry VIII. this hospital fell into the hands of the crown; and it was granted to the Mayor and Burgesses of Gloucester by Queen Elizabeth. In 1789 the old building which appears in the picture was taken down and rebuilt. A rough view of S. Bartholomew's is given in Rudge's *History of Gloucester*.<sup>2</sup>

The high chimneys on the right of S. Bartholomew's were built in the 17th century for the manufacture of glass. The base of the chimney on the left still exists. The chimney on the right has disappeared, but its name survives in Glass House Yard.

Between the chimneys may be seen two of the seven arches of Foreign Bridge, spanning the old course of Severn which ran by S. Oswald's Priory. This bridge, which now lies buried beneath Westgate Street, is shown very distinctly in Speed's map of Gloucester, made at the end of the 16th century.<sup>3</sup> Leland, who visited

<sup>1</sup> In 1226 a bridge was built at Gloucester with timber from the Forest of Dean. Rot. Litt. Claus. p. 100 b. 10 Hen. II.

<sup>2</sup> Page 133.

<sup>3</sup> See *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, opp. p. lvj.

Gloucester about 1540, gives some particulars in his *Itinerary* relating to the different branches of the Severn and the bridges that spanned them in his time.<sup>1</sup> Foreign Bridge and its predecessors probably date back to the time of the Romans; Westgate Bridge to the year 1226; and Over Bridge to 1540.

On the right of the glass houses appears a building in the style of architecture of Queen Anne's time, with four urns and a large bird adorning the parapets. This, I am told, was the old Custom House, which has been taken down within the memory of present inhabitants of Gloucester.

Behind the masts of the great barge are the towers of the churches of S. Mary de Lode and S. Nicholas. S. Mary de Lode derived its name from a lode or ferry over the old Severn. In the chartularies of S. Peter's Abbey this church is always called S. Mary before the Abbey Gate. It was at one time the only parish church of Gloucester; and here, tradition says, was buried Lucius, the first christian king of Britain.

S. Nicholas' Church has lost the upper part of its spire since this view was taken. About the beginning of this century the spire was struck by lightning, and was taken down as far as the coronet which now surmounts it.

In the middle of the picture is the little island called the Eyt or Naight, which was formed by a parting of the Severn opposite the present County Gaol. The two courses reunited near the site of the present old dry dock, from the south side of which the picture appears to have been taken. The north-east course of the river was filled up at the time of the construction of the Berkeley Canal, and the island now forms part of the land between the great basin and the river.

On the right of S. Nicholas' Church stands the County Gaol, which was a fragment of the old Castle of Gloucester. A view of this building, taken just before its demolition in 1785, appears in Fosbroke's *History of Gloucester*.

Next to the Gaol are some Gothic buildings which may include Bareland House. Above them rises up against the sky

<sup>1</sup> Rudge's *Gloucester*, p. 152.



the Cathedral, for a thousand years before the Dissolution the famous Abbey of S. Peter.

On the right of the Cathedral is seen the tower of Trinity Church, which stood in the middle of Westgate Street, opposite Upper College Court. In 1648 the parish of Trinity was united with that of S. Nicholas and the church was demolished. The tower, however, was allowed to remain, and did duty as a fire-engine house and market till 1749-50 when it was taken down.

Lady Bell Gate House, now the Liberal Club, is said to have been the town house of the Guise family. We recognize it by its parapets and bell tower. It appears in Kip's view of Gloucester in the 1712 edition of Atkyns; and from the style it cannot be very much older.

The spire of S. John's Church is ancient; but the church was rebuilt in 1732-4. After the battle of Bosworth Field, the fourth centenary of which is being kept this year, Viscount Lovel and Lord Stafford fled to this church for sanctuary.

The little spire on the right of S. John's must I think be intended for the High Cross, which was taken down in 1750. There are two good views of the cross; but only a fragment of the structure is known to exist. The tower of S. Michael's Church is said to have been built during the Wars of the Roses. The church was considerably altered in 1653, the materials which were used for the purpose having been procured by the demolition of the church of S. Mary de Grace, which stood in Westgate Street near S. John's Lane, and S. Aldate's. Next on the right are the remains of the Blackfriars which was founded as a Dominican Priory in 1239 by Henry III. and by Stephen, Lord Hurnhull. It was dissolved in 1538 and granted in 1540 to Sir Thomas Bell, who converted it into a mansion and a manufactory for caps.

S. Mary de Crypt, so called from its having two charnel houses or vaults, was founded in 1137 by Robert Chichester, Bishop of Exeter, and was conferred by him on Llanthony Priory.

The costumes of the milk-maid, wending her way to Llanthony Priory, and of the fishermen on the river bank carry us back to the early part of the reign of George II.; and I am inclined to refer the picture to that date.

## NOTES ON A PORTRAIT BY FAITHORNE.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM BAZELEY, M.A.

Reference has been made on page 23 to the discovery of a copper-plate engraving within the precincts of Kilpeck Castle. This plate has been very carefully restored, and a number of copies have been struck off for this work. On referring to "*A Catalogue Raisonné of the Select Collection of Engravings of an Amateur*" we find on page 267 a fac-simile of this portrait, engraved by Sawyer, and on page 270 the following description:—"Portrait, in an oval, of a gentleman with flowing hair, dressed in a habit with slashed sleeves, and a cloak, which he holds with both hands; he has a falling band with tassels, and a sword belt. On the right is a shield of arms, bearing a *chevron gules, on a field argent, between three unicorns rampant azure*. On a pillar to the left is written, '*Æt. sue, 24,*' and at the bottom is the following inscription, '*Nec me mea fallit Imago— Guli Faithorne, de. et fe.*' It is considered to be unique, and is from the collections of *Marriette, Sir J. W. Lake, and Sir Mark Sykes*. It appears from a very careful search in the *Heralds' College*, that the arms are those of *Rogers of Devonshire*."

In the above description the tincture of the chevron is wrongly given. In the fac-simile by Sawyer, as well as in the copper-plate, it is sable. On referring to Papworth's *Ordinary of British Armoury*, page 458, I find the following coat of arms given by him:—Arg. a chev. betw. three unicorns salient sa. Monington, Sarnesfield Court, Co. Hereford. No mention is made of the arms of Rogers of Devonshire, nor of any other family save Monington bearing a chevron between three unicorns. The tincture of the unicorns is given by Papworth as sable; in the engraving it is azure. There are some monuments in Sarnesfield Church to the Monington family, one bearing the family arms;



*—nec me mea fallit Imago:*

*Gul<sup>mo</sup> Faithorne Del<sup>it</sup>*





but the Rector of Sarnesfield tells me that the tinctures are not now distinguishable. The fact that Sarnesfield and Kilpeck are both in Herefordshire, and not far distant from one another, leads me to believe that the portrait represents one of the members of the family of Monington who lived during the Civil War.

C. J. Robinson, in his *Mansions of Herefordshire*, page 250, gives a pedigree of the Moningtons, from which it would seem that Richard Monington of Sarnesfield, by his second wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Wintour of Lidney, had two sons, Edward, aged 12 in 1634, and therefore in his 24th year in 1645, who died s.p.; and John, who married Gaynor Roberts and succeeded to his father's or brother's estates. It is probable that the portrait represents one of these two brothers. William Faithorne, the engraver, at the breaking out of the Civil War in 1642, espoused the cause of Charles I. and accompanied him on his travels. He was made prisoner at the sacking of Basing House by Cromwell in 1645 and confined in Aldersgate prison; after a while he was released and sent abroad. About 1652 Faithorne returned to England and set up a shop at the sign of the "Ship," near Temple Bar, where he sold books and prints, and engraved for other booksellers. He retired in 1680 from business as a bookseller, but continued to engrave portraits. He died in 1691. His sons, Henry and William, were also engravers.

The costume of the figure leads me to think that it was one of the earliest of Faithorne's engravings. The Moningtons also sided with Charles I. and suffered in his service. Perhaps Faithorne met Edward Monington at Raglan Castle and engraved his portrait during his visits there with Charles I. between the 3rd of July and the 15th of September, 1645. The plate was handed over to its purchaser at once, and he lost it during the siege and destruction of Kilpeck Castle in the latter part of the same year. The portrait, a fac-simile of which appears in the *Catalogue Raisonné*, was the only proof which had previously been struck off.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. H. W. Bruton, in order that the copies recently printed for the *Records* may become valuable, has very generously defaced the original copper-plate.

## In Memoriam.

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WILLIAM HENRY LYTTTELTON, M.A.

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William Henry Lyttelton was the second son of William Henry, third Baron Lyttelton, by his marriage with Lady Sarah Spencer, eldest daughter of the second Earl Spencer. He was born in 1820, and was educated at Winchester, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1841.

He was ordained deacon by Bishop Wilberforce, to the Curacy of Kettering, in 1843.

From 1845 to 1847 he held the perpetual curacy of Sunningdale; and in 1847 he was presented by his brother, the late Lord Lyttelton to the living of Hagley, County Worcester. In 1850, Mr. Lyttelton was appointed Honorary Canon of Worcester Cathedral.

In 1880, on the death of Sir John Culme-Seymour, he accepted a canonry in Gloucester Cathedral. Canon Lyttelton was twice married. His first wife was Emily, second daughter of Dr. Pepys, Bishop of Worcester, whom he married in 1854. She died in 1877, and three years later he married Constance, daughter of the late Dean of Worcester, the Hon. Grantham Yorke, who survives him.

During the period of 37 years that Canon Lyttelton worked as Rector of Hagley, his influence was felt throughout a wide, and ever extending circle. He was a warm advocate of higher education for the working classes, and nothing delighted him more than to form classes of young workmen for regular and systematic instruction in some branch of natural science. He was a Liberal in politics and as such a zealous supporter of his kinsman Mr. Gladstone. In his sermons as well as in his private conversation he did not suffer himself to be fettered by conventional modes of thought or expression; but took an original view of every subject, religious or scientific, that he dealt with.



He was an able linguist, and fond of translation. Among the volumes he translated for the press were Professor Godet's *Lectures in Defence of the Christian Faith*, and his *Biblical Studies on the Old and New Testaments*, and M. Felix Bovet's *Egypt, Palestine, and Phœnicia*.

But it is the part which Canon Lyttelton took in the formation of the Cathedral Society that we wish to recall. He felt, as many of us had felt for years before he came amongst us, that more use might be made of the Cathedral, its architecture and and its history, to attract those who live within hearing of its chimes, and give them a love for the beautiful and the noble. There are probably thousands of Gloucester citizens who have never set foot within the Cathedral walls, far less have learned the meaning of massive pillar and pointed arch, of sculptured foliage and marble tomb. How few of us realize the part that Gloucester Cathedral has played in the spread of knowledge, in the encouragement of art, and the growth of English liberty. In 1882 Canon Lyttelton wrote to many of his friends in the city and neighbourhood inviting them to help him in promoting an intelligent interest in Gloucester Cathedral amongst all classes. This volume and its predecessor are a record of the success which attended his efforts.

But he had barely founded the society through whose agency he hoped to provide instruction and mental recreation for many years to come, when he became almost disabled by a painful and deadly malady. It was his intention to do at Gloucester as he had done at Hagley, *i.e.*, give popular lectures to young working men, on "Architecture and its meaning;" but as time went on this became more and more impossible. What he could do to promote the success of this society, he did. He made a personal appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury (then Bishop of Truro), the Dean of Wells, Mr. E. A. Freeman, Mr. Gambier Parry, Canon Westcott, Professor Seeley, Mr. J. Parker, and others equally distinguished, to come and help him. Some came, and others promised to come, to take part in the good work he had originated.

But 1884 saw the close of Canon Lyttelton's career, to the deep regret of all who knew him. He died at Malvern on Thursday, July 24th, after a long and painful illness, bravely resisted to the end. With his death came a discontinuance of the Cathedral Society's meetings. Since then the Dean of Gloucester, who always appreciated and helped forward the work, though he could take no active part in it, has died also. It may be that his successor will give renewed energy and a wider sphere of usefulness to an organization which yet remains intact.

## In Memoriam.

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### JOHN DANIEL THOMAS NIBLETT.

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JOHN DANIEL THOMAS NIBLETT was born at Haresfield on the 10th of July 1809. He was the eldest son of Daniel John Niblett of Haresfield Court by his wife, Emma Catharine, eldest daughter of the Rev. Thomas Drake, D.D., vicar of Rochdale. He was educated at Eton, and was a schoolfellow of Mr. Gladstone. In 1828 he matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford and took his B.A. degree in 1832. He married in 1849 Caroline Anne, youngest daughter of David Arthur Saunders of Gloucester, who survives him.

Throughout a long life, of which the earliest part and the last eight years were spent at Haresfield, he devoted much of his leisure time to the study of local archæology. The M.S. notes which he has left behind him prove how carefully and lovingly he examined every object within his reach that had a story to tell of religion and art in bygone ages.

Mr. Niblett was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a member of the Royal Archæological Institute. He took great interest in the formation of the County Archæological Society, and materially contributed to its success. He also assisted Canon Lyttelton in founding the Gloucester Cathedral Society and was a regular attendant at the meetings of the Committee.

Many were the hours that Mr. Niblett spent in studying and copying the little details of heraldry, painting, sculpture, and monumental inscription in which our Cathedral abounds. The paper on Royal badges in the first volume of the *Records* was written from his notes and with his assistance. Had he lived many like contributions might have been forthcoming. Mr. Niblett was an able draughtsman, and his artistic skill was often combined with a quaint humour. The inscriptions which he designed for the tombs of the De Clares, the Despencers, and the Nevilles in Tewkesbury Abbey are an example of this :—

On the tomb of the first Gilbert de Clare, who took part with the Barons in compelling King John to sign the Great Charter, he draws a pen and a scroll, and writes :—

*Magna Carta et lex, cabent deinde rex.*

On the tomb of Thomas Le Despencer the elder, murdered by the citizens of Bristol in 1400, he draws a headsman's axe and an inverted torch, and writes :—

Gwell angau na cywilydd.

[Better death than shame.]

On the tomb of George Plantagenet, the unfortunate Duke of Clarence, he draws the rose and sun of York, and writes :—

Macte beni sicut sol in splendore :

Mox subito mersus in cruore.

[I came in my might, like the sun in his glory,  
So soon to be quenched in a death-bed so gory.]

But it may be said of Mr. Niblett that he was a collector of information, rather than a writer. A long life's work has almost perished with him. It would be difficult from the fragments that remain, a few bold sketches and many scattered notes, to reproduce a tithe of the antiquarian lore with which he delighted all who knew him.

But if he were best known as an archæologist to the world at large, there were other points in his life and character that his friends valued more highly. He was a churchman of the truest type. He spared neither time nor money in the cause of Christ.

The Archdeacon of Gloucester in a very touching memoir of his "fellow worker and affectionate friend," contributed to the *Guardian* of November 7th, 1883, has told us how, when in 1866 the Bishops of the English Church, gathered in solemn conclave at Lambeth, had agreed to restore the ancient order of Lector, Mr. Niblett offered himself to the Bishop of Gloucester, and was the first layman of modern times to be admitted to that office. From that time till his death on All Saint's Day, 1883, he continued to perform such spiritual duties at Colethorp as his diocesan had laid down for him. In 1874 a school-chapel was built, principally at his expense, and hither for the last decade of his life, till the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, 1883, it was his wont to repair at least once on the Lord's Day, and and take part in conducting the services of the church.

To his friends, his tenantry, and the poor, Mr. Niblett endeared himself by his courtesy and unwearying kindness. It was only for the last eight years of his life that he was known to the writer of this memoir; but during that time a friendship, which was founded on similarity of tastes and study, afforded frequent opportunities of proving the extent of Mr. Niblett's antiquarian research, and appreciating his simple-minded piety.



CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE ABBOTS, AND THE  
BUILDINGS RECORDED TO HAVE BEEN  
ERECTED BY THEM.<sup>1</sup>

KINGS.	ABBOTS.	NOTES FROM THE HISTORY. <sup>2</sup>
Canute 1017 Harold I. 1037 Hardicanute 1039 Edward the Confessor 1041 Harold II. 1066	Edric 1002  Wulstan 1058	LATE ANGLO-SAXON AND NORMAN, 1022—1154.  Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, 1044— 1060, rebuilt the Church, and conse- crated it in 1058. <sup>3</sup>
William I. 1066 William II. 1087 Henry I. 1100	Serlo 1072  Peter 1104 Wm. Godemon 1113 Walter de Lacy 1130 Gilbert Foliot 1139 Hammeline 1148	Serlo laid the foundation of a new Church in 1089, and dedicated it in 1100.  Peter enclosed the Monastery with a stone wall.
Stephen 1135		

1.—In Mr. Haines' excellent *Guide to the Cathedral*, published by Mr. E. Nest, there is a similar list, giving the probable date of every part of the present structure.

2.—See *History and Chartulary of St. Peter's Monastery*, Vol. I.

3.—It will be seen that the various contributors to the *Records* are at issue on the question whether any part of Aldred's Church remains.

KINGS.	ABBOTS.	NOTES FROM THE HISTORY.
		TRANSITIONAL NORMAN, (c. 1154—c. 1189.)
Henry II. 1154	Thomas Carbonel 1179	EARLY ENGLISH, (c. 1189-c. 1272)
Richard I. 1189		
John 1199	Henry Blond 1205	Helias, the Sacrist, erected a Great Eastern Tower, and placed new stalls in the Choir, 1222—1237. <sup>1</sup>
Henry III. 1216	Henry Foliot 1228	The vaulting of [the central part of] the Nave completed, and a South-Western Tower commenced, 1242.
	Walter de S. John 1243	This S. W. Tower completed, 1243.
	John de Felde 1243	The old Refectory taken down and rebuilt, 1246.
	Reg. de Homme 1263	
		DECORATED, (c. 1272—c. 1377)
Edward I. 1272	John Gamages 1284	A new Dormitory, begun 1302, and finished 1313.
Edward II. 1307	John Thokey 1307	The South Aisle of Nave reconstructed 1318.
Edward III. 1327	John Wygmore 1329	The Abbot's Chamber and S. Andrew's Aisle reconstructed, 1329—1337.
	Adam de Staunton 1337	Vaulting of the Choir, and new Stalls on the Prior's side completed, 1337—1351.
	Thomas Horton 1351	Great Altar, Presbytery, Stalls on Abbot's side, and Cloisters as far as door of Chapter House completed, 1351—1377.

1.—There are now no traces of this Early English Tower, built by Helias, on the Norman sub-structure, which still remains.

KINGS.	ABBOTS.	NOTES FROM THE HISTORY.
		PERPENDICULAR. (c. 1377—c. 1547.)
		Reconstruction of S. Paul's Aisle, begun in 1368, and finished in 1372.
Richard II. 1377	John Boyfield 1377	
	Walter Frocester 1381	
Henry IV. 1399	Hugh Morton 1412	The Cloisters completed, 1381—1412.
Henry V. 1413	John Morwent 1421	
Henry VI. 1422	Richard Boteler 1437	The West Front, the Porch, and two Western Bays built, 1421—1437.
	Thomas Seabroke 1450	The Great Eastern Tower rebuilt, 1450—1457.
Edward IV. 1461	Richard Hanley 1457	
	William Farley 1472	
Edward V. 1483	John Malverne 1499	The Lady Chapel built by Hanley and Farley, 1457—1498.
Richard III. 1483		
Henry VII. 1485	Thomas Braunche 1500	
Henry VIII. 1509	John Newton 1510	
	William Parker 1514	The Vestry and Chapel on North side of Choir built, 1514—1539.



## NOTICE OF "THE NATION IN THE PARISH."

THE NATION IN THE PARISH, or Records of Upton-on-Severn, with a Supplementary Chapter on the Castle of Hanley; by EMILY M. LAWSON; with a Glossary of Local Words and Phrases by ROBERT LAWSON, M.A., sometime Student of Christ Church, Oxford; Rector of Upton-on-Severn, and Honorary Canon of Worcester Cathedral. London: Houghton and Gunn. Price 6s., and sold by the Author, Upton-on-Severn, post free, 5s.

The title of this charming little book is ambitious; but its contents are by no means disappointing. Mrs. Lawson claims for the simple records of a little town, that they are part and parcel of our national history, and is she not right? If we would know our forefathers when they were struggling for their personal and national liberty, and winning it, step by step, we must seek them in their quiet homes. What was once thought English History was really a sickening chronicle of the tyranny and bloodshed, the misrule and sensuality that characterised the reigns of our foreign rulers and their still more foreign queens, of relentless Normans, brutal Angevins, Welsh Tudors, Scotch Stuarts and Hanoverian Guelphs. It is refreshing to turn away from court life with its hollow ceremonials and cruel jealousies, to the every day struggles of our simple countrymen on the banks of the Silurian Severn.

The earlier part of Mrs. Lawson's book is the weakest. Facts on which to build local history during the British, Roman and Saxon eras are hard to come by, and difficult to digest.

Our authoress for later times than these, when many a monk and friar were passing up and down the water-highway of the west, has bravely dived into the time-worn, musty documents that crowd the shelves of our National Record Office in Fetter Lane. Here in Fines and Inquisitions, in Pipe Rolls and Parliamentary Patents she has found the Saltmarshes, the de Clares, the Despencers and the Beauchamps, holding in succession the lordship of Upton on Severn. But the strength and the interest of Mrs. Lawson's writing lie in her treatment of Upton history during the struggles of the great Civil War, and her pictures of clerical life in the 17th century.

The most famous, she says, of the Upton rectors was Dr. Dee, more famous though as a necromancer than a clergyman; and Queen Elizabeth was nearly making him Dean of Gloucester. Dr. Dee had no immediate connection with Upton history; for it is doubtful if he ever lived there; but his story is exceedingly well told, and the fact that he held the living is certainly a good excuse for telling it.

Mr. Woodforde was rector, and resided at Upton, during the troubles of the reign of Charles I. He was a good type of an English churchman at a time when loyalty to the King drew down persecution and insult. With little more than a well-kept parish register to help her, Mrs. Lawson draws a picture of Woodforde's life and times that does her credit as a student of history, and an archæologist.

Special interest attaches itself to a clergyman whose only epitaph in Worcester Cathedral is "Miserrimus." Mrs. Lawson tells us that Thomas Morris, as this clergyman was called, was a native of Upton, and the son of an Upton surgeon. But we must let Mrs. Lawson tell her own tale how "Miserrimus" refused to swear allegiance to the Prince of Orange, and voluntarily endured poverty and contempt for half a century in his devotion to an alien King who had fled from a people he knew not how to rule. The fourteen etchings that illustrate the work, are excellent; and so is the glossary at the end of the volume.

We gladly commend the "Nation in the Parish" to our readers, and Mrs. Lawson's example to the wives of the Gloucestershire clergy.

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